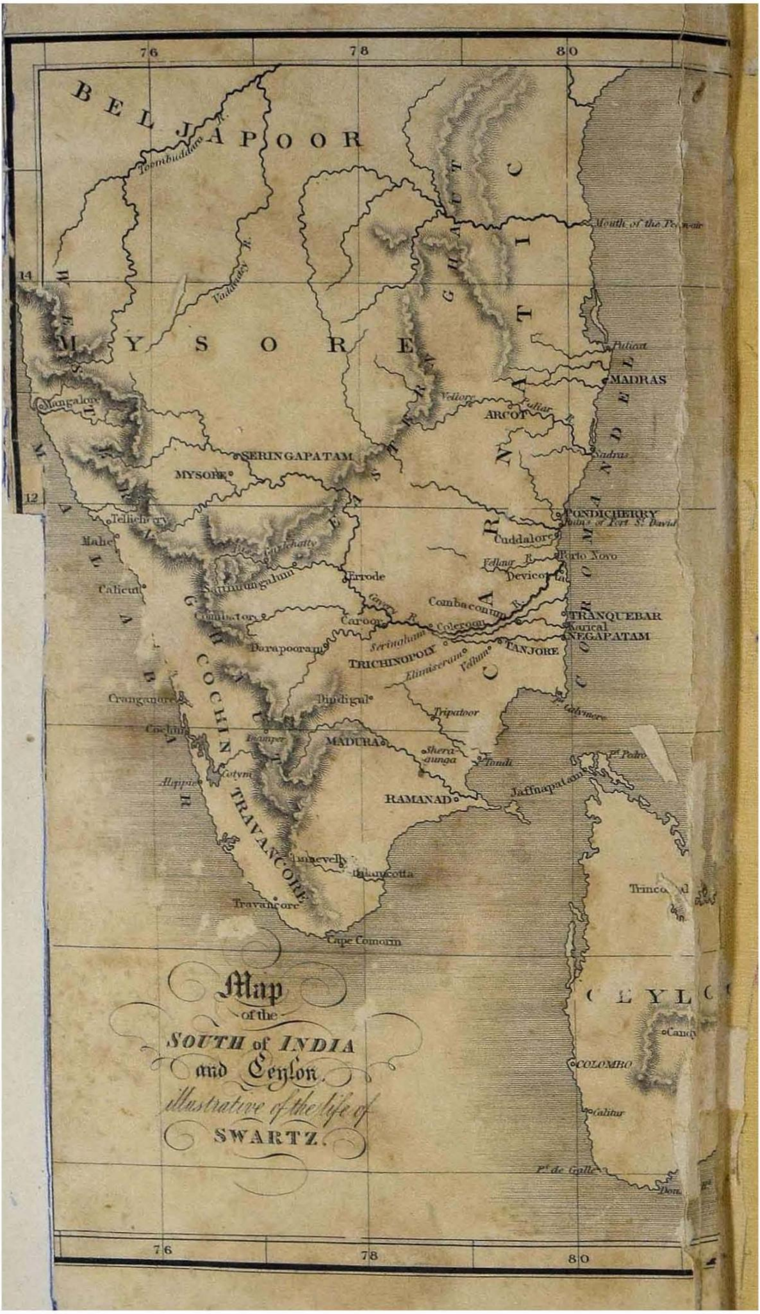
Map of the SOUTH of INDIA and Ceylon, illustrative of the life of SWARTZ.
BELJAPOOR
MYSORE
CARNATIC
EASTERN GHAUT
WESTERN GHAUT
MALABAR
COROMANDEL
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
CEYLO
Toombuddra R.
Vadavatey R.
Mouth of the Pennair
Puliacat
MADRAS
Vellore
Paliar R.
ARCOT
Sadras
Mangalore
SERINGAPATAM
MYSORE
PONDICHERRY
Ruins of Fort St. David
Cuddalore
Tellichery
Mahe
Vellaur R.
Porto Novo
Devicotta
Calicut
Sattimungalum
Errode
Cavery R.
Combaconum
Coimbatore
Caroor
Coleroon
TRANQUEBAR
Karical
NEGAPATAM
Darapooram
Seringham
TRICHINOPOLY
Elimiseram
Vellum
TANJORE
Cranganore
Dindigul
Tripatoor
Pt. Calymere
Cochin
MADURA
Sheravunga
Tondi
Pt. Pedro
Alleppie
Cotym
Jaffnapatam
RAMANAD
Tinnevelly
Palamcotta
Trincomalee
Travancore
Cape Comorin
Candy
COLOMBO
Calitur
Pt. de Galle
76
78
80
14
12

MEMOIRS

1648

OF

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE REVEREND

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, A SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

BY

HUGH PEARSON, D.D. M.R.A.S.

DEAN OF SALISBURY.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

J. HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY.

1834.

TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND

DANIEL,

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA,

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS

OF

THE VENERABLE AND APOSTOLIC SWARTZ,

THE SCENE OF WHOSE LABOURS

FORMS PART OF THE EXTENSIVE DIOCESE

OVER WHICH

HIS LORDSHIP HAS BEEN SO HAPPILY CALLED TO PRESIDE,

ARE,

IN TESTIMONY OF A LONG AND MOST ENDEARED

FRIENDSHIP,

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

It has long been a subject of regret with all who take an interest in the diffusion of Christianity among the heathen, more particularly in our Eastern empire, that a fuller account of the venerable Swartz, the most celebrated missionary of modern times, than has hitherto appeared, should not have been presented to the world. The general outline, and the more prominent events of his history, together with various extracts from his journals and letters, have, indeed, been extensively circulated, both in this country and on the continent; but his commanding views and principles as a Christian teacher, the interior

springs and motives of his conduct, together with much both of his public and private correspondence, and with many important and interesting particulars of his life, more especially with reference to some of the native princes, and to the government of India, and its grand and instructive impression as a whole, have been as yet but imperfectly and partially communicated.

One of Mr. Swartz's most eminent fellow-labourers, the late Mr. Gerické, long cherished the intention of thus honouring the memory of his revered predecessor. "I think it my duty," he observes, in a letter to a mutual correspondent in England, "to write the life of our late worthy friend, Mr. Swartz, though he himself was against it, and never would consent to commit to paper any particular passages in his life, which Dr. John and myself often begged him to do; but my time is too much taken up, both with the business I always had, and with the care which I have, since Mr. Swartz's death, of his congregations between Tanjore and Cape Comorin. I intend, however, to do it still, if God spares my life. In the mean time, I have satisfied my Ger-

man friends with a narrative of his last days and dying hours. I had only to write what I saw and heard, being then with him at Tanjore." The preceding extract was written about three years after the death of Swartz, and in little more than two years from that time, Mr. Gerické was himself removed from the world, without accomplishing the work for which he was in many respects peculiarly qualified.

The same cause which prevented this excellent man from fulfilling so gratifying a duty, equally precluded Mr. Kohlhoff, the pious coadjutor and successor of Mr. Swartz, in the mission at Tanjore, from doing more than transmitting to the Society, in whose service he was engaged, an enlarged and detailed account of the closing scene in the life of his venerable friend and father.

The late Dr. Buchanan, when requested, while at Calcutta, to write the life of Swartz, replied, that independently of his want of leisure, the good missionary had left no papers, and had ever deprecated posthumous praise. When, however, a few years afterwards, he visited Tanjore, he was so impressed and animated by what he saw and

heard of Mr. Swartz, amidst that flourishing scene of his labours, that he made many inquiries of Mr. Kohlhoff and his brethren respecting their eminent predecessor, and engaged them to transmit to him the result of their recollections and researches. About three years after his return to Europe, Mr. Kohlhoff and Mr. Horst, fulfilled this promise, by sending to Dr. Buchanan some valuable materials for the biography of Swartz, comprising a narrative of his life from his birth in 1726 to the year 1758, compiled chiefly from the missionary accounts published in Germany, together with copies of several of his manuscript sermons. In transmitting these documents, Mr. Horst expressed his hope of sending the rest of the narrative in the following year. This design, however, was unhappily frustrated by his own premature decease; and Mr. Kohlhoff was too much occupied with the labours of the mission to be able to fulfil his intention. To the materials thus imperfectly furnished from India, Dr. Buchanan added a series of extracts from the Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge relative to Mr.

Swartz; but his various labours in the cause of Christianity in India, and the failure of his health, prevented him from making any further progress in this work.

From the period when my attention was first directed to the promotion of Christianity in India by the Prize Essay, proposed by Dr. Buchanan to the University of Oxford, I have been deeply interested in the character of the apostolic Swartz. Finding, therefore, while preparing the life of Dr. Buchanan, that he had collected some materials for that of the great missionary, I requested the executors of that zealous and munificent friend of missions, to allow me the use of those papers in compiling a fuller memoir of Mr. Swartz. This request having been kindly granted, my next object was to add to the collection from every quarter. My first application was to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, conceiving that its manuscript records might contain much that would illustrate the spirit and character of its revered missionary. It was, however, stated in reply, that the Society was not aware of the existence of any such papers; and that whatever it had deemed proper for publication in the letters

of Mr. Swartz, had been regularly printed in its annual reports; a reply, the correctness of which, however it may excite surprise or regret, is confirmed by the absence of any other incidents than those contained in the published reports, in the sketch of the life of Swartz by another member of the Society,[1] to whom, as it appears from his acknowledgments, permission of access to its archives was some years afterwards liberally afforded.

Failing as to this source of additional materials, I had recourse to my much esteemed friend the Rev. Dr. Steinkopff, at that time foreign secretary to the Bible Society, to procure from the German missionary correspondence, published at Halle, such extracts from the journals and letters of Mr. Swartz, as he might deem best calculated to promote my object in a memoir of his life and character. Dr. Steinkopff most readily undertook this task; and after making various inquiries of his friends at Halle, engaged the assistance of Mr. Falcké, a native of Hanover, who had been recommended by the Rev. Dr.

[1] The Rev. E. W. Grinfield.

Knapp, professor of divinity in that university, to be employed as a missionary by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in making the proposed selections.

This pious young man was detained for several months in England, in the year 1821, by a severe accident, during which time he completed a series of such extracts, the translation of which was superintended by Dr. Steinkopff. He was afterwards admitted to holy orders by the Lord Bishop of London, and embarked for India, where he arrived about the middle of the following year, and was stationed at the Society's mission at Vepery, near Madras. There he laboured for some time with Christian simplicity and benevolence; but, to the great regret of the congregation, died prematurely in the year 1824. The selections translated for my use extended from the year 1760, up to which period my previous materials reached, to 1796, and comprised the short account of the life and death of Mr. Swartz, published by Dr. Knapp at Halle, in 1799, in his "Recent History of the Protestant Missions for the Conversion of the Heathen in the East Indies."

It is necessary to give the preceding account

of these extracts from the German missionary correspondence, in consequence of the appearance, a few years afterwards, of a work entitled, "Remains of the Rev. C. F. Schwartz, consisting of his Letters and Journals, with a sketch of his Life." This publication, though deficient in narrative, afforded to the English reader fuller details of the proceedings of that eminent missionary, and particularly of his intercourse with the heathen, than had been previously known. It was, however, restricted to his journals of five years, from 1768 to 1772, with an account of his journey to Hyder Ali at Seringapatam in 1779, and a few letters to his friends at Halle and in London. The sketch of Mr. Swartz's life prefixed to the "Remains," was no other than that which has been already mentioned as published by Dr. Knapp, to which were added some extracts from the Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and from the sermon preached by Dr. Kerr at Madras, on occasion of the opening of the monument erected there to the memory of the revered Missionary, by the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

While, therefore, the volume just referred to partially anticipated the history of the few years which it embraced, it left a wide field, before and after, almost untouched, which it was my anxious wish to occupy. Various circumstances contributed to retard the completion of this undertaking; but it may not be unsatisfactory to observe, that the delay has been the occasion of rendering it more worthy of the subject, and of general reception, than it could have been by an earlier publication.

To the kindness of the late Mrs. Chambers, widow of William Chambers, Esq., formerly of Madras and Calcutta, and one of the earliest and most esteemed correspondents of Mr. Swartz, by means of my highly valued friend, the Rev. D. Wilson, now so deservedly elevated to the see of Calcutta, I am indebted for a series of letters from the excellent missionary to Mr. and Mrs. Chambers, and to one of their near relatives, extending from the year 1769 to 1793, which, written with the confidence and affection of the most endeared and intimate friendship, display in the clearest and most unaffected manner, the genuine sentiments and feelings of his heart.

Another much attached friend of Mr. Swartz William Duffin, Esq., of York, added considerably to this store of his Christian correspondence Some of the letters to this gentleman appeared in an early volume of the Christian Observer, as did those addressed by the benevolent missionary to the children of the late Colonel Wood. They now appear, with some additions, interwoven into the history of his life, and are thus rendered both more interesting and more instructive.

My acknowledgments are justly due to the Right Honourable John Sullivan, for the communication of the letters of Mr. Swartz written to him in the years 1784 and 1785, during the eventful period when he was the Resident at Tanjore. I regret that it has not been in my power to obtain from the worthy successor of that able servant of the Company, John Hudleston, Esq., during many years a member of the Court of Directors, his correspondence with the venerable missionary. That gentleman was Resident at Tanjore at the time when one of the most important public incidents of his life occurred. I refer to the adoption of the late Rajah of Tanjore by the reigning prince, and the appointment of Mr. Swartz as his guardian.

Though I should gladly have enriched my work with the private letters in the possession of Mr. Hudleston, their loss, so far as the interesting transaction in question is concerned, has been amply compensated by the liberality of the Right Honourable Charles Grant, President of the Board of Controul, and of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, through the kindness of one of its members, N. B. Edmonstone, Esq., who allowed me the fullest access to the records of our Indian government. To those distinguished persons I beg to offer my warmest thanks, as well as to B. S. Jones, Esq., under secretary to the India Board, and to Thomas Fisher, Esq., keeper of the records at the India House, who afforded me the readiest facilities and the most valuable assistance in extracting from those authentic sources of information many very important letters and documents, illustrative at once of the ability, integrity, and eminent usefulness of the pious missionary, and of the high and honourable principles, and the beneficent influence, of our East Indian authorities, both at home and abroad.

To Colonel Blackburne, who in early life was well acquainted with Mr. Swartz, and who during many years immediately succeeding his death filled, with great ability, the station of resident at the court of Tanjore, similar acknowledgments are due, for his kindness in permitting me to peruse some private memorials of the principal transactions in which Mr. Swartz was engaged during the reigns of the Rajahs Tuljajee and Ameer Sing, as well as for some interesting anecdotes connected with his history.

I have deemed it expedient to introduce the following Memoirs by a brief sketch of the history of Christianity in India, from its origin to the period when Swartz arrived. The delay which has unavoidably occurred in the publication of this work, renders it not unnecessary to observe, that this preliminary part of it was written several years before the appearance of Mr. Grinfield's "Sketches of the Danish Mission on the Coast of Coromandel," compiled from the manuscript records which have been already mentioned. My own materials for this introductory sketch were

derived chiefly from Niecamp [1] and La Croze.[2] To Mr. Grinfield's little volume I with pleasure refer the reader for a somewhat varied account of the early brethren of that mission. A few inaccuracies occur in it respecting Mr. Swartz; but in a more recent compilation, in addition to some erroneous statements, a sentimental and romantic air is attempted to be thrown around one, the very elements of whose character were truth and simplicity.

While correcting the last sheets of this work another small volume has appeared, entitled, "Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph D. Jœnicke, a fellow labourer of Schwartz at Tanjore, interspersed with many original letters and notices of Schwartz." In this publication also, such is the necessary consequence of protracted preparations, a few of my translations from the German correspondence are anticipated. To the merits of the devoted and indefatigable Jœnicke it will be seen that I have borne ample testimony, and cordially recommend to the perusal of those who love genuine

[1] Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in Indiâ Orientali. Halæ, 1747.

[2] Histoire du Christianisme des Indes.

and exalted piety, this fuller record of his labours, and of his Christian connexion with the admirable Swartz.

It only remains for me, in concluding these prefatory observations, to express the heartfelt delight, and, I trust, the edification, which I have derived from my long engagement in compiling the following Memoirs of him, of whom it may be justly said, as of a distinguished Roman of old, "Plurimæ consentiunt gentes, primarium fuisse virum"—or in language more appropriate to his character, "whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches." I can truly add, with one of the editors[1] of Archbishop Leighton's works, "that I have never spent an hour either in transcribing or correcting for the press the letters or journals of this wonderful man, for such I would deliberately call him, without feeling, amidst the interruption which such an employment would naturally occasion, some impressions which I could always wish to retain." May this record of the excellence of one who, to adopt the glowing expressions of a son[2] of his most intimate friend, "gained the

[1] The learned and pious Dr. Doddridge.

[2] The late Sir C. H. Chambers.

love and veneration of his heathen neighbours, and ensured the grateful admiration of the Christian world," be accompanied by that heavenly blessing, by which alone it can be rendered subservient to the great purpose for which he lived! May many go forth to preach the gospel to the heathen, animated by the same spirit, and be crowned with the same success! And may the sacred cause to which Swartz was so eminently and so consistently devoted, triumph over the ignorance, superstition, guilt, and misery, which oppress the fairest portions of the earth in which real Christianity is unknown, until that divine and saving truth universally prevail, not only in India, but throughout the world!

Deanery, Salisbury, Dec. 2, 1833.

CONTENTS

OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

Extensive Propagation of the Gospel during the first four centuries—Subsequent decline—Slumber of the middle ages—Maritime Discoveries of the Portuguese—Syrian Christians—Armenian Christians—Roman Catholic Missions—Zeal of the Dutch—Danish Mission—Ziegenbalg and Grundler—Patronage of the Tranquebar Missions by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—Schultz and other Danish Missionaries—Establishment of a Mission at Madras—Introduction of Christianity into Tanjore—Mission at Cuddalore—Capture of Fort St. George by the French—Mr. Fabricius—Roman Catholic Churches and Mission Houses at Vepery and Cuddalore, granted to the Protestant Missionaries at the peace, in 1748—State of the Danish Mission previously to the arrival of Swartz—Recapitulation. . . . . . *Page* 1

CHAPTER I.

Early Life and Education of Swartz—His removal to Halle—Proposal to go out as a Danish Missionary to Tranquebar—He obtains the consent of his father—His Ordination—Departure for England, and kind reception by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—He embarks for India—Account of his voyage—He arrives at Tranquebar—First occupations at the Mission. 55

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Swartz enters on the Duties of a Missionary—His account of these in a Letter to a Friend—Careful preparation of Candidates for Baptism—Excursions to the Towns and Villages near Tranquebar—Specimens of Swartz's Conversations with the Natives—Letter to Dr. Struensee—Periodical Reports of the Danish Mission—Pious Custom of the Missionaries on proceeding upon a Journey — Visit of Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz to Cuddalore—Pastoral and weekly Conferences with their Brethren there—Return to Tranquebar. 83

CHAPTER III.

War in the Carnatic between the French and English—Mr. Swartz continues his usual labours and excursions—Letter to Professor Francke—Expedition of Mr. Poltzenhagen to the Nicobar Islands—His Death—Letter of Swartz to a friend in Europe—Visit of Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz to Negapatam — Conversations with the natives — Favourable

results of the journey—Second Visit to Negapatam—Swartz's Address to the Native Catechists—Capture of Fort St. David and Cuddalore by the French—Kindness of Count Lally to the Missionaries—They retreat to Tranquebar—Mr. Kiernander removes to Calcutta—Mr. Hutteman returns to Cuddalore—Death of one of the first five Converts of Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar—The French army approaches Madras—Messrs. Fabricius and Briethaupt protected by Count Lally—They leave Vepery, and retire to Pulicat—An English fleet relieves Madras—The French army retreats, and the missionaries return to Vepery. . . . 108

CHAPTER IV.

Tranquillity of the Danish Missionaries during the late hostilities in the Carnatic—Visit of Mr. Swartz to Ceylon—His various Ministerial Labours and his Illness in that island—His faithful Admonition to a Sceptic—His reflections on this visit—Journey with Mr. Kohlhoff to Cuddalore and Madras—His religious views and feelings in a letter to a friend. 133

CHAPTER V.

Enlarged sphere of Mr. Swartz's labours—Journey to Tanjore and Trichinopoly—First proceedings in those cities—Introduction to the Nabob of Arcot—Conversations with Natives near Trichinopoly—Commencement of Divine Service with the English garrison—Contagious fever—Services of Swartz during the Siege of Madura—His removal from Tranquebar, and establishment at Trichinopoly, as a Missionary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.—Arrival of Mr. Gerické in India. 147

CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of Swartz and his early proceedings at Trichinopoly, by the late W. Chambers, Esq.—He builds a Church at that place—Prayer at its Dedication—Mission-house and Schools at Trichinopoly—War between Hyder Ali and the great powers of Southern India—Swartz visits his brethren at Tranquebar—Incidents on his Journey—His visits to the sick and wounded at Trichinopoly — Conversations with Hindoos and Mahomedans—Letters to friends in Europe—State of Tanjore at that period—The Hopes of Swartz as to the Diffusion of Christianity—Conclusion of his journal for the year 1768. 159

CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of hostilities — Zeal and Disinterestedness of Swartz — His conference with a Romish Padre—Peace between Hyder Ali and the English—Swartz proceeds to Tanjore—His introduction to the Rajah—His character—Conversation at this interview—Swartz returns to Trichinopoly—His second visit to the Rajah with Colonel Wood—Preaches to the Natives on the glacis, and in the Fort—The Rajah wishes to converse with him, but is prevented by his Ministers—Swartz's message to the King, and his reply—He returns to Trichinopoly—Mr. Chambers leaves that city—First Letters of Swartz to that gentleman—Conversations with the Natives, and with the Nabob's Son—Attendance on sick Europeans—Visit from two Mahomedans, and conversation respecting Mahomet—Letter from Mr. Chambers to his brother on a translation of the New Testament into Persian—Conversation with a sick Soldier, and with Natives, heathen and Mahomedan—Reflections of Swartz at the close of the year 1769. 197

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Swartz's general occupation during the year 1770—Conversion of a Pandaram—Journey to Madras and Cuddalore—Letters to Mr. Chambers—Devotional service with English Soldiers at Trichinopoly—Further Letters to Mr. Chambers—Visit to Tanjore—Extracts from his journal of Conversations with Natives—Return to Trichinopoly—Swartz visits the great mosque, and addresses the Mahomedans—Letter to Dr. Knapp, with a sketch of the proceedings of the year—Excitement of the Roman Catholics in Tanjore—His anxiety for a colleague. 231

CHAPTER IX.

Letter to Mr. Chambers at the commencement of the year 1771—The convert Nyánapracásam—Progress of the Mission—Death of two pious English Soldiers—Residence at Trichinopoly—Letters to Mr. Chambers—Attack by the Nabob and the English on Tanjore—Peace restored—Swartz's allusion to these events—Violence of the Roman Catholics against Nyánapracásam—The conduct of Mr. Swartz upon this occasion—His preservation from an explosion of the powder magazine in the fort—His reflections on the event—Conversion of Sattianaden, and of a very aged man—Visit to Tanjore—Interview with the Rajah—Performs the marriage ceremony in the palace—Account of this, and of the Rajah—Letters to Mr. Chambers respecting one of his former servants, a Convert to Christianity—Swartz declines an invitation from the Rajah for a political object. . . 259

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Swartz visits Tanjore—Places a Catechist at Vellum—Letters to Mr. Chambers, and the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—Renewed hostilities against the Rajah of Tanjore—Capture of the Fort and City—Unfavourable effect on the ministry of Swartz—Two journeys to Madras—Progress of the Mission at Trichinopoly—Death of Colonel Wood—Letters of Swartz to his children—Restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore—Arrival of a new Missionary—His death—Mr. Pohlé sent from Tranquebar to supply his place—Frequent visits of Swartz to Tanjore—Letter to Professor Freylinghausen—Rajah of Tanjore—At his request Swartz learns the Mahratta language—Translates his Tamul Dialogue for his use—Account of that tract—State of the Mission at the close of the year 1777. 298

CHAPTER XI.

Tanjore, the future residence of Mr. Swartz—His Report of the Mission for the year 1778—Letters to friends—History of a young Hindoo Convert—Major Stevens—Foundation of a Church at Tanjore—Mr. Swartz called by the Governor to Madras—His mission to Hyder Ali—Account of his journey to Seringapatam—Reception by Hyder—His Palace and Government—Swartz's occupations during his stay—His last Interview with Hyder—His return to Madras—His Disinterestedness, as to Remuneration—He obtains a Salary for Mr. Pohlé, and assistance towards building his Church at Tanjore—Reflections on his Embassy to Hyder. . 326

CHAPTER XII.

Completion of the Church in the little Fort at Tanjore—Preparation of another for the Tamul Congregation in the garden, presented by the Rajah to Mr. Swartz, in the suburbs—Letters to friends—Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali—Letters to Mr. and Mrs. Chambers—Desolation and Distress of the Country in consequence of Hyder's attack—Benevolent Exertions of Swartz to relieve it. . . 369

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY

OF

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA,

INTRODUCTORY TO THE

LIFE OF SWARTZ.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

Extensive propagation of the Gospel during the first four centuries.—Subsequent decline.—Slumber of the middle ages.—Maritime discoveries of the Portuguese.—Syrian Christians.—Armenian Christians.—Roman Catholic Missions.—Zeal of the Dutch.—Danish Mission.—Ziegenbalg and Grundler.—Patronage of the Tranquebar Mission by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.—Schultz, and other Danish Missionaries.—Establishment of a Mission at Madras.—Introduction of Christianity into Tanjore.—Mission at Cuddalore.—Capture of Fort St. George by the French.—Mr. Fabricius.—Roman Catholic Churches and Mission Houses at Vepery and Cuddalore, granted to the Protestant Missionaries at the peace, in 1748.—State of the Danish Mission previously to the arrival of Swartz.—Recapitulation.

The propagation of the gospel during the first four centuries after the Christian era, presents a most important and interesting subject of contemplation to every reflecting mind. A new and divine religion had revealed to mankind the knowledge of the will of God, the good tidings of a A. D. 400.

A. D. 400. Redeemer, and the promise of immortal life and happiness. Opposed as its spiritual principles and its moral precepts were to the prevailing philosophy, no less than to the multiplied superstitions and the corrupt passions of the Gentile world, the miraculous powers which distinguished the primitive ages of Christianity, and the piety and zeal of its early disciples, succeeded, under the guidance and blessing of its divine Author, in diffusing its influence with a rapidity, and to an extent, far exceeding that which has been witnessed at any subsequent period. It pervaded every province of the Roman empire, and even penetrated to regions beyond its widely-extended boundaries; and while it tended to ameliorate the character of polished nations, and to civilize the most barbarous people, it communicated to both blessings infinitely more valuable than any which refer merely to the transient interests of the present world.

The progress of the gospel during several succeeding centuries was slow and limited; while, in too many instances, the pure light of divine truth became gradually obscured, and in others utterly overwhelmed and extinguished, by error, superstition, and barbarism.

1000. It was not till the tenth century, that Christianity made any effectual impression on the eastern and northern states of Europe, nor was

it before the commencement of the fifteenth, that A. D. 1400.
it finally triumphed over Paganism in that quarter of the world. In the meantime, the conquests of the Turks and Tartars in Asia and Africa opposed an invincible barrier to the progress of the gospel in those continents; while the darkness and slumber of the middle ages paralysed the efforts of European Christians for its extension in any part of the globe.

The maritime discoveries of the Portuguese 1490.
towards the close of the fifteenth century, by opening a new world to the nations of Europe, appeared to rouse their dormant energies in propagating the knowledge of Christianity. On the coast of Africa, in America and its islands, and in the islands and maritime provinces of Asia, the Spaniards and Portuguese, armed by the authority and stimulated by the zeal of the court of Rome, distinguished themselves in this sacred cause. The progress of the Reformation, by giving an effectual check to the ambition of the Roman pontiffs, and by depriving them of a considerable part of their spiritual dominion in Europe, might perhaps have tended to increase their ardour in the propagation of their religion in distant quarters of the world. Their efforts were powerfully seconded by the institution of the order of Jesuits in the year 1540; a certain number of that celebrated society having been, from

A. D. 1490. its commencement, devoted to the purpose of extending the pale of the Romish church in heathen nations.

1500. When the Portuguese, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, first established themselves on the coast of Malabar, they found a community of native Christians who welcomed their approach, and were prepared to receive them as friends and brethren. These were the Syrian, or, as they have been generally called, after the Portuguese designation, the St. Thomè Christians; whose uniform tradition respecting their origin represents them as descended from the converts of the apostle St. Thomas in India, during the first century. The correctness of this tradition, notwithstanding some remarkable corroborations of its truth, has been generally doubted.[1] Certain, however, it is, from authentic ecclesiastical records, that a Christian church, episcopal in its constitution, and deriving a succession of bishops from the patriarchs of Babylon and Antioch, has existed on the coast, from Cape Comorin to Cranganore, and in the interior of Malabar, more than fifteen hundred years. Every circumstance relative to

[1] Bishop Heber and Archdeacon Robinson incline to favour the claim of the Syro-Malabaric church to this apostolic origin. "Journal," vol. ii. 278, and the "Last Days of Bishop Heber," p. 317, in which the arguments of Paulinus, from his "India Orientalis Christiana" in its support are abstracted. For the less ancient traditions, see Tillemont and La Croze.

the history of the Syrian Christians indicates their remote origin; while their situation, surrounded by the darkness of Hindoo superstition and idolatry, in the midst of which they have, during so many ages, faithfully, though feebly, preserved the light of heavenly truth, renders them in a high degree interesting. A. D. 1500.

Such was the estimation in which they were held, and such the influence which they had obtained so early as the ninth century, doubtless from the general superiority of their moral character, that the native princes of Cochin and Travancore, in whose territory they were principally established, granted them various civil privileges, and their clergy ranked next to the Nairs, or nobles of the country. For a long period they enjoyed an independent government under their own native princes; and even when, in process of time, they became again subject to a heathen sovereign, they continued to be governed in civil as well as ecclesiastical concerns by the bishop of Angamala.[1]

It cannot be a subject of surprise that corruptions, both in faith and practice, should in the course of ages have crept into this ancient church. We accordingly find that the opposite errors of Nestorius and Eutyches concerning the person and natures of our Lord, together with various superstitious ceremonies and irregular obser-

[1] Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 347.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

A. D. 1500. vances, have prevailed among them. At the period, however, when the fleets of Portugal first visited the shores of India, the St. Thomè Christians, though tainted with the Nestorian heresy, were entirely ignorant of the great western apostasy, knew nothing of the usurped supremacy of the Pope, and had never heard of the worship of the Virgin Mary, of transubstantiation, purgatory, or any of the peculiar errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome. A circumstance so fatal to the proud and exclusive pretensions of that See could not but excite the jealousy and alarm of its bigoted adherents. Hence it was, that no sooner had the Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Malabar, than the Romish clergy, and especially the Jesuits, who, with a zeal worthy of a purer faith, had flocked to make converts in this newly discovered territory, instead of embracing the Syrian Christians as brethren, and endeavouring by mild and benevolent methods to correct what might have been really erroneous in their creed, to improve their general character, and to protect them from the oppression of the neighbouring heathen princes under which they found them suffering, determined on compelling them to submit to the Papal jurisdiction, and to conform to the tenets and ritual of the Church of Rome. After a long series of intrigues, artifices, and persecutions, Menezes, archbishop of Goa, who presided at a synod convened in the year

1599 at Diamper, near Cochin, succeeded in persuading the Syro-Malabaric churches to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and to submit to the Romish jurisdiction. The archbishop, at the same time, expunged the alleged Nestorian errors from their liturgy, and with the bigotry and intolerance which characterized all his proceedings, committed to the flames the ecclesiastical books and ancient records of the Syrian church. A. D. 1599.

The triumph, however, of Menezes was partial and temporary. The churches in the interior yielded only a forced and apparent compliance with his decrees; and about sixty years after the synod of Diamper, the conquest of Cochin by the Dutch, and the expulsion of the Portuguese from the greater part of the coast of Malabar, afforded them the opportunity of shaking off the Romish yoke, and of regaining their ancient ecclesiastical independence. This they have ever since maintained under a metropolitan bishop of their own nation, while the more numerous churches, chiefly on the coast, have continued their connexion with the Papal See; and except that they have been permitted to retain the Syriac language in their liturgy, are in strict conformity with the Romish church. The numbers of these native Christians, comprising both the purer Syrian and the Syro-Roman churches, have been estimated at about two hundred thousand. 1659.

A. D. 1659. The independent part of the Syrian Christians, who possess about fifty churches among the hills of Malayala, having, upon their emancipation from the Portuguese dominion, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, very naturally admitted the doctrine of that church, in direct opposition to their former Nestorian error. In either case, however, the tenet seems to have been little more than verbal. The Apostles' Creed was the only one recited in their service; nor did they, in fact, essentially differ from the Catholic doctrine respecting the divinity of the Son of God.

Upon the subject of the sacraments, and in their liturgical offices, they doubtless fell into many errors and superstitions; but considering their long seclusion from any more enlightened Christian community, the secession of the larger portion of their brethren to the Romish church, and the incessant persecutions to which they were exposed, the destruction of their books, and their consequent want of education, it is only wonderful that they have retained so much scriptural knowledge, and present so striking and favourable a contrast, not only to the heathens around them, but to the Roman Catholics, from whose power they have been so happily extricated.

Next in antiquity to the Syrian Christians are the members of the Armenian church, who, dispersed as they are throughout Asia, and engaged

in commercial pursuits, are to be found in every part of India. They differ in various respects both from the Greek and Latin church, and may in general be said to be free from essential error and corruption. They have places of worship at the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, as well as in the interior of the country, and are supplied with ministers from Persia, and occasionally visited by bishops and archdeacons, under the superintendence of the patriarch of Echmiatzin. The numbers of the Armenian Christians in India do not exceed a few thousands, nor have they ever appeared anxious to extend the pale of their communion. A. D. 1659.

The zeal of the Portuguese clergy, and of the various missionaries of the Romish church, among whom the justly celebrated Francis Xavier holds the most distinguished place, effected the conversion of thousands of the natives of India to the Roman Catholic faith. The greater number of these converts were at Goa, and Cranganore, and in other stations on the coast of Malabar, under the more immediate influence of the Portuguese government; but the missions in Madura and Mysore, in Marava and the Island of Ceylon, on the coast of Coromandel and in the Carnatic, were, if we may credit the reports, more particularly of the Jesuit missionaries, eminently and extensively successful. Many deductions must undoubtedly be made with respect to the numbers

A. D. 1659. of Hindoo converts thus asserted by the missionaries of the Romish church. But even admitting to whatever extent the success of their exertions, the Anti-Christian and unworthy methods to which the Jesuits had recourse, and the merely external and nominal profession of Christianity with which they were for the most part contented, tend to reduce to a very low scale the estimate of their labours, in what must otherwise be deemed a noble and most important enterprize.

The expedient resorted to by Robert di Nobili, chief of the Jesuits College at Madura, in the sixteenth century, and one of the most eminent followers of Xavier, of adopting, together with his clergy, the dress, habits, and manners of the brahmins, is a striking instance of those unwise and equivocal attempts to conciliate the Hindoos, by compromising the truth and simplicity of Christianity. This learned and zealous man, with the same well-intentioned, but mistaken policy, composed a work in Sanscrit, consisting of dialogues between a Christian and a Hindoo, in which, though the preponderance of argument is in favour of the Christian, the Hindoo, in order to convince his countrymen of the folly of idolatry, is made to reason powerfully in support of the principles of pure theism. A translation of this work having been transmitted from Pondicherry to the king's library at Paris, Voltaire, presuming it to be the genuine production of a Hindoo,

triumphantly appealed to it as a decisive proof, A. D. 1659.
that it was unnecessary and superfluous to urge the doctrines of Christianity upon a people who were already so well informed as to the tenets of natural religion.

The failure of all such worldly expedients on the part of the Romish missionaries in India, is fairly acknowledged by the Abbé Dubois; who, however, strangely attributes it, not to the refusal of the divine blessing to a method of proceeding so contrary to apostolic principles and practice, but to the effect of the divine predestination!

The decline of the Portuguese dominion on the coast of Malabar, naturally diminished the influence and the success of the Roman Catholic missionaries in India; while the zeal of the Dutch, more especially in Ceylon, though liable in some measure to the objection which has been urged against the missions of the Church of Rome, as to the worldly policy and the culpable facility with which converts to their respective communions were too frequently encouraged, augmented to a very large amount the numbers of professed Christians in that island.

Though the piety and zeal of Protestants had often excited an anxious desire to propagate the pure and reformed faith of the gospel in heathen countries, its establishment and defence against the hostile attempts of Popish adversaries at home, together with the want of suitable oppor-

A. D. 1695. tunities and facilities for so great a work, combined during the first century after the Reformation, to prevent them from making any direct or vigorous efforts for this purpose. A regard to sound policy, as well as the sense of duty, had, as we have just seen, prompted the Dutch to accompany their conquests with laudable endeavours to promote Christianity in India; but it was reserved for the Danes to be entitled to the high honour of setting the first example of an institution for the express purpose of communicating to its native inhabitants that inestimable blessing.

The crown of Denmark had, since the year 1621, by the cession of the Rajah of Tanjore, been possessed of the town of Tranquebar, and a small adjoining territory, on the coast of Coromandel. The Jesuits had long before built a church there, but had done nothing towards the propagation of Christianity among the natives; while the Danish merchants, occupied only with the interests of commerce, were altogether indif-
1705. ferent to their religious condition. Such was the state of things when, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, Frederick IV., King of Denmark, on the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Lutkens, one of his majesty's chaplains, who had proposed the subject to him when only prince regent, determined, notwithstanding the advice of some who thought the design premature and ill timed, to

establish a mission for the conversion of the heathen at Tranquebar. With this view the king directed an application to be made to the celebrated Dr. Francke, professor of divinity in the University of Halle, in Saxony, whose well known devotion to the cause of religion, and recent establishment of the Oriental College of Divinity in that place, peculiarly qualified him for such a task; requesting him to recommend from among his pupils those whom he might deem best calculated, by their learning and piety, to lay the foundation of this important work. Dr. Francke made choice of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a young man of eminent talents and religious excellence, who had been educated at Halle under his own immediate superintendence, and who happening to be at Berlin when Dr. Lutkens was enquiring for suitable persons to be employed as missionaries, joyfully accepted the proposal. He was soon afterwards joined by his friend and fellow student, Henry Plutscho, who was actuated by a similar desire of engaging in the first Protestant mission to India. These pious men, having received holy orders from the bishop of Zealand, embarked at Copenhagen on the 29th of November, 1705, and after a pleasant voyage, arrived at Tranquebar on the 9th of July, 1706.

A. D. 1705.

Here, notwithstanding their commission from the king of Denmark, the missionaries, instead of

1706.

A. D. 1706. being kindly received, were discouraged and opposed by the Danish authorities. Undismayed, however, by the various difficulties which surrounded them, and fortifying themselves by the study of the word of God, particularly of the Acts of the Apostles, and by prayer, these excellent men entered without delay on their arduous undertaking. Their first object was to acquire the knowledge of the Portuguese language, which, from its introduction two centuries before, was now generally understood by the natives, and then of the Tamul, the vernacular language of the country from Madras southward, and the greater part of the extremity of the peninsula, and of the north of Ceylon. Such was their zeal and diligence, that in the course of a few months they had acquired a sufficient knowledge of both languages, to enable them to catechise the native children in two schools which they had established, and which they supported out of their own slender funds.[1] Ziegenbalg particularly devoted himself to the study of the Tamul; and such was his extraordinary proficiency, that he not only acquired a very extensive acquaintance with the books written in that

[1] The account of the early labours of Ziegenbalg and his brethren of the Danish mission, particularly in the study of the Tamul language, by Niecamp and La Croze, is highly interesting and instructive.

language on Hindoo mythology and history, but soon began to converse fluently with the natives on moral and religious subjects. A. D. 1706.

The first fruits of his labours in this interesting field was the conversion of a young man of high caste, named Modaliapa, who, while assisting Ziegenbalg in acquiring the knowledge of Tamul, became gradually convinced of the errors of idolatry, and of the truth of the divine religion which he saw so admirably exemplified in him and his fellow-missionary. After much reflection and intercourse with these pious men, he at length delighted them by declaring that he was "willing to live and die with them, desiring nothing more than a bare maintenance in this world, if he might but partake of the blessings and promises of the gospel." When Dr. Buchanan visited Tranquebar in 1806, precisely a century after this cheering event, he found in an apartment in Ziegenbalg's house the registers of the church in which the name of this first heathen convert was inscribed.

The conversion of this young man, and of a native female of rank, appears to have excited considerable attention, and to have been reported to the Rajah of Tanjore, who sent an officer with assurances of friendship, and the offer of a guard to accompany them, if they should be disposed to travel into the interior of his territories. This,

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SA...

A. D. 1706. however, they did not at that time think it expedient to accept.

1707. In the month of May, 1707, the missionaries publicly baptized several of their catechumens in the Danish church at Tranquebar, on which interesting occasion Ziegenbalg preached in Tamul on the conversion of the heathen, and the best method of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel. A few days afterwards, they conferred on one of their converts the office of a catechist, to assist them in the instruction of his native countrymen; and on the 14th of June, notwithstanding their slender means for such an undertaking, they commenced the building of a church for the use of the mission. Such was the blessing with which this pious design was attended, that with the assistance of those who were friendly, and even of some who were at first opposed to it, the building was completed in the month of August following, and consecrated in the presence of a large assembly both of Christians, heathens, and Mahommedans. This church was built of stone, and in the midst of the native population, a little out of the town. Here the missionaries regularly preached both in Portuguese and Tamul twice in every week; and here, after baptizing some additional catechumens, and administering the holy communion, they laid the foundation of a numerous and flourishing church, composed of con-

verts well prepared and instructed in the principles of the gospel, and for the most part duly accrediting the sincerity of their Christian profession. A. D. 1707.

Being deeply convinced of the importance of early instruction, the missionaries lost no time in establishing a school for the education of such native Tamul children as they could collect for this purpose, some of whom they contrived to clothe and feed at their own expense. To this they shortly added a Portuguese school. The zeal and diligence of these devoted men were scarcely ever exceeded. In a letter from Ziegenbalg to Dr. Lutkens, he gives a striking sketch of his varied and laborious occupations during each day. Passing from his early devotions to the explanation of Luther's catechism in Portuguese, he proceeded to the study of Tamul, and then to conversation and reading with a native poet, for the purpose of perfecting himself in that language. After some short refreshment and repose, he catechised the children, then returned to the study of the Tamul, and afterwards joined in an exercise of piety with some German residents at Tranquebar. "All the evenings," he adds, "we converse with each other respecting our work, and the best means of advancing it. After supper, I review the business of the day, and examine my own heart, and conclude with singing and prayer."

A. D. 1707. Can it be surprising that a man thus piously and ardently engaged should be eminently successful, or that he should too soon be exhausted by such incessant exertions?

Amidst the blessing of God which followed their various labours, the faith and patience of these pious missionaries were severely tried by the loss of two considerable remittances from Europe, by the shipwreck of the vessels on board of which the money had been embarked, and still more by the continued opposition of the European inhabitants. To such a height had this arisen, that at one period the excellent Ziegenbalg was even arrested by the Danish governor, and detained in prison for four months, during which his firmness and activity of mind were as conspicuous as his resignation to this unjust and disgraceful proceeding.

1709. The disinterestedness and self-denial of the missionaries, combined with the assistance of some charitable individuals, enabled them to defray their increasing expenses until the month of July, 1709, when a most seasonable and important supply reached them from Europe by the arrival of three new missionaries, Messrs. Grundler, Bœving, and Jordan, bringing with them a considerable sum of money, together with a variety of stores for the use of the mission. The persecution which the missionaries had so long suffered

from the Danish residents was at the same time A. D. 1709.
considerably checked by the authoritative interference of their royal patron, the King of Denmark, who sent out his positive commands to the governor of Tranquebar, to assist and encourage their pious labours to the utmost of his power.

It was in this year that the Danish mission became first known in England, by the translation of some letters from the missionaries, addressed to one of their friends in London. The attention of religious persons was powerfully excited by this interesting publication, particularly that of the Rev. Mr. Boehm, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, one of the earliest members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which had been then a few years established. A present both of money and books was immediately sent by the Society to Tranquebar, and a brief but cordial notice of the mission was inserted in the report of its proceedings for that year. Such was the commencement of the disinterested and important patronage afforded to the Danish mission by that venerable Society, which, while it reflected the highest honour on its members, contributed so effectually to the extension and support of Christianity in India.

In 1710, Ziegenbalg undertook a journey to 1710.
Madras, to ascertain what prospect there might

A. D. 1710. be of gaining access to the heathen, either by the way and in the neighbouring country, or in the town itself, with a view to their conversion to Christianity. The congregation at Tranquebar entreated him with tears not to quit them, or to return as soon as possible. At Chillumbrum, quitting the territory of Tanjore, he entered what were then the dominions of the Great Mogul, and proceeded to Pôrto Novo and Cuddalore, and from thence to Fort St. David's; and on the tenth day, having touched at St. Thomas's Mount, arrived at Madras in the evening. There he was kindly received by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, chaplain to the factory, with whom the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge were in correspondence on the subject of the Danish mission. During his stay at this place, Ziegenbalg made many inquiries respecting the religious wants of its inhabitants. "Madras," he writes, "is advantageously situated for spreading Christianity, if the English who command there would but second our endeavours, or join with us in propagating the gospel in the East. I found here a letter from Mr. Boehm, wherein he gives us some hope that the English might perhaps be prevailed on in time to concern themselves in so promising and worthy a design."

1711. In the course of the three following years, independently of a considerable sum collected by a

general contribution[1] among its members, and A. D. 1711. transmitted to the missionaries, the Society printed, principally for their use, an edition of the Portuguese New Testament, and sent out to them a printing-press, a fount of Roman and Italic types, and a large quantity of paper for printing. The fate of the press was remarkable. The vessel in which it was embarked was captured by the French, and carried to the Brazils, where the printer who had charge of it died; but the press, which lay concealed in the hold of the vessel, having been re-purchased by the Society, was in the following spring safely landed at Madras. About the same time, the missionaries received from Germany a fount of Tamul characters. They afterwards succeeded in casting superior Tamul types at Tranquebar, and attempted the manufacture of paper, and were thus enabled to print a variety of books and tracts, which were eminently useful in the dissemination of Christian knowledge. Of these the most valuable and important was the translation of the New Testament into the Tamul language. Ziegenbalg had early conceived the design of this great undertaking, and commenced it in the year 1708, as soon as he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to write it with correctness and elegance. His translation was completed in

[1] La Croze, tom. ii. liv. 7.

A. D. 1714. 1711, but the printing of it was delayed, for the purpose of rendering it more perfect by the most careful revision, till the year 1714, when it issued from the press at Tranquebar. The Romish missionaries had printed various tracts in Tamul, but they were chiefly catechisms, the lives of saints, or other legendary tales of their church. After two hundred years, in which they had professed to preach the gospel, it was reserved to Ziegenbalg to be the first to translate the inspired record into one of the most prevalent languages of India. "May God Almighty," said he, addressing the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge on transmitting a copy of this translation, "prosper our labours by his heavenly blessing, and grant that his Holy Word, like an incorruptible seed, may be scattered among these nations, to preserve them from eternal destruction!"

The King of Denmark had in the year 1711, granted to the missionaries at Tranquebar a pension of two thousand crowns, and in 1714 his majesty[1] founded a college at Copenhagen, for the purpose of superintending and supporting the interests of the mission. The number of converts now amounted nearly to three hundred, the

[1] An abstract of the King's instructions to the Missionary College is contained in the volume of letters from Ziegenbalg and Plutscho to their friends in Europe. They are highly creditable to the piety of that excellent monarch.

greater part of whom had been received into the church by baptism. The schools contained upwards of eighty children, who were nearly all supported as well as instructed by the missionaries; and the number of persons employed in the service of the mission, including schoolmasters, catechists, and others, exceeded twenty. This increasing charge, and the consequent labours and responsibility which resulted to the missionaries, together with the difficulties with which they had long struggled, induced Ziegenbalg to determine on a voyage to Europe, whither his friend Plutscho had already returned, for the purpose of more effectually promoting the important work in which he and his colleagues were engaged. A. D. 1714.

Having, therefore, consigned to the care of Grundler the concerns of the mission, and satisfactorily arranged their differences with the Danish governor, he embarked in the month of October, 1714, and was accompanied by a young native convert. With his assistance, Ziegenbalg occupied his time during the voyage in translating part of the Old Testament into the Tamul, and in composing a grammar of that language in Latin, which was printed at Halle, in 1716, and is still highly esteemed by Oriental scholars. On the 1st of June, 1715, Ziegenbalg arrived at Bergen, in Norway, from whence he repaired to

A. D. 1715. Stralsund, in Pomerania, for the purpose of presenting himself and his Hindoo companion to the King of Denmark, who was then personally engaged at the siege of that place. After a most gracious reception by that monarch, who conferred upon him the title of "Inspector of the Missions," he proceeded to Copenhagen, where he was most cordially welcomed, and made some arrangements with the Danish East India Company of considerable importance to the mission at Tranquebar. His next visit was to Professor Francke, at Halle, who took the liveliest interest in his labours, and who, both by his counsels and his contributions, was one of the principal supporters of his mission. While at that place, he married a lady to whom he had been long attached, and then pursued his course to England, where he landed towards the end of the year. Here he was received with the cordiality and respect to which he was so justly entitled. He had the honour of being presented to king George I., who made many inquiries respecting the mission, and assured him of his royal patronage. The Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] and the Bishop of London, treated him with the highest consideration and kindness. By the former of these prelates he was introduced to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and received a congratulatory address in Latin,

[1] Dr. Wake.

to which he returned an admirable reply in Ta- A. D. 1715.
mul, immediately adding a translation of his
speech into Latin. The society made Ziegenbalg
a liberal present both of money, paper, and books;
and the Directors of the East India Company
having generously given him a free passage on
board one of their ships, he embarked at Deal
on the 4th of March, and after rather a dangerous
voyage, during which he improved his knowledge
of the English language, landed at Madras on the
10th of August, 1716, where he was most hos- 1716.
pitably received by the governor, and the Rev.
Mr. Stevenson, Chaplain to that Presidency.
This excellent person had much at heart the pro-
pagation of the gospel in India, and an admirable
letter from him to the Secretary of the Society
for Promoting Christian Knowledge, dated in
Dec. 1716, occurs in the Society's Reports, on
the chief impediments to this important work, the
reasons which induced him to hope for success in
it, and the methods which he thought most likely
to promote it. In this letter, Mr. Stevenson bears
a most satisfactory testimony to the labours and
the success of the missionaries at Tranquebar; and
though much of his information is now familiar
to those who have at all considered the subject,
and some of his suggestions have been long since
carried into effect, this sensible and pious address
may still be read with interest and advantage.

A. D. 1716. After a few days' refreshment at Madras, Ziegenbalg rejoined his excellent colleague, Grundler, at Tranquebar, and resumed with renewed vigour the arduous work of his mission. They immediately instituted a seminary for the education of native youths, to be employed as catechists and schoolmasters; and shortly afterwards, at the suggestion of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and with the assistance of Mr. Stevenson, and the approbation of the Governor of Madras, they established Tamul and Portuguese schools at Madras and Cuddalore.
1717. In the course of the following year, 1717, the church at Tranquebar having been much injured by an inundation, the missionaries built a second, and appropriated the old one to the instruction of catechumens and the burial of the dead. Ziegenbalg was incessantly occupied in the translation of the Bible into Tamul, in journiés to some of the neighbouring districts, and in religious discussions both with Hindoos and Mahomedans.

Amidst these labours he occasionally corresponded with the friends of the mission in Europe, and received from them the warmest assurances of approbation and support. Encouraged by the condescension of king George I., he addressed a letter to that monarch on the duty and expediency of diffusing the gospel in the British colonies in India. In reply to this communication, Ziegen-

balg received a letter from his royal patron, strongly expressive of his majesty's interest in the success of the sacred cause in which he was engaged.[1] A. D. 1717.

But the labours of Ziegenbalg were drawing rapidly to a close. In the autumn of the year 1718 the health of this indefatigable man began to fail. He languished for a few months amidst great weakness and pain; and with a faint hope of relief from travelling, he commenced a journey along the coast. Having reached Cuddalore, he found his end approaching, and sent for his friend Grundler, to whom on his arrival he expressed the most humble yet exalted hope of heavenly happiness; and having received the holy communion, and requested a favourite Lutheran hymn to be sung, he expired in perfect peace, on the 23rd of February, 1719, in the 36th year of his age, deeply lamented by his excellent colleague and the native converts, and esteemed and regretted even by the Pagans themselves. 1718. 1719.

The character of Ziegenbalg was indeed truly admirable. His exalted piety, and ardent zeal, were regulated by the soundest judgment, and tempered by dispositions and manners so kind

[1] This, and a subsequent letter from his majesty to the Danish missionaries, together with a truly apostolic letter from Archbishop Wake, were introduced by Dr. Buchanan in his Ecclesiastical Memoir, and in his Christian Researches.

A. D. 1719. and amiable, that he attracted and conciliated all around him; while his unwearied activity, patience, and perseverance, enabled him to overcome difficulties which to many would have proved insuperable, and to establish his mission upon the most solid foundation. His translation of the New Testament into Tamul, is alone sufficient to immortalize his name; and has proved, as he fervently implored, when he commenced this great undertaking, a source of incalculable and endless blessings to succeeding generations in India.

The loss sustained by the death of Ziegenbalg was in some measure repaired by the arrival, in the month of September following, of three new missionaries, Messrs. Schultz, Dahl, and Keistenmacher, who had embarked on board an English East Indiaman, after a short visit to this country, during which they experienced the usual kindness and munificence of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Such an accession to the mission was peculiarly seasonable and critical, the health of Grundler having already suffered a severe shock, and being still extremely feeble and precarious. He exerted himself, however, with almost prophetic diligence and vigour in preparing his new colleagues for their various labours, as if anticipating the approaching conclusion of his own. This excellent man survived

his beloved friend Ziegenbalg little more than a year. He had projected a distant journey, for the purpose of preaching the gospel, and in prosecution of this design had even embarked for Cuddalore; but finding himself unable to proceed, he returned to Tranquebar, where his illness rapidly increased. On the 15th of March 1720, Grundler performed his last public service, and three days afterwards resigned his pious spirit into the hands of his Redeemer, and was interred in the Mission Church, near the remains of his departed colleague.

A. D. 1719.

1720.

Schultz now became the superior of the Danish mission, and proved himself worthy of following his admirable predecessors. The severe losses which it had recently sustained, excited the hopes of its Roman Catholic adversaries in India that it must be abandoned, and awakened the apprehensions of many even of its European friends.

The piety and energy of Schultz and his fellow missionaries, were, however, fully equal to this trying emergency. They laboured diligently in the acquisition of the native languages, in which they were soon able to catechize and preach; and instead of yielding to despondency, they enlarged the sphere of their labours. Aided by the liberal contributions of the governors of Madras and Fort St. David, and of other friends both in

A. D. 1720. India and Europe, they increased the number of their schools, and of their publications from the press, and resumed the visits of their predecessors to the neighbouring towns and villages. Within five years from the death of Ziegenbalg, one hundred and fifty converts were added to the church.

1724. In the year 1724, three additional missionaries, Messrs. Bosse, Pressier, and Walther, who had been selected by Professor Francke, and had sailed under the auspices of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, arrived at Tranquebar. They were charged with a letter to Mr. Schultz, from Archbishop Wake, in which the venerable primate, after expressing his satisfaction at this augmentation of the mission, recommended him to select from the native converts those who might appear to be the best qualified, and to associate them in case of necessity in his evangelical labours. Such was the ardour of the new missionaries in the study of the Portuguese and Tamul languages, which they had commenced during the voyage to India, that within three months after their arrival, they were able to enter upon their duties both as catechists and preachers.

Among the objects to which Schultz had directed his most earnest attention was the continuation of the translation of the Old Testament

into Tamul, which Ziegenbalg had conducted only as far as the book of Ruth. He commenced this arduous undertaking early in the year 1723, and regularly devoted to it six hours every day. Schultz was well acquainted with the original Hebrew, and consulted most of the European versions. He was assisted by a learned brahmin and other well-informed natives, and the translation underwent a careful revision by his colleagues. This important work was concluded in 1725, and the first part of it was immediately committed to the press. In 1727 the printing was completed, when the delight of presenting to the native converts the whole Bible in their own language, made him forget all the toil and pains which it had cost him; while, in common with every other labourer in this sacred service, he had been abundantly repaid during its progress by those copious communications of divine wisdom and strength, with which a more intimate acquaintance with the Word of God had enriched his mind. A. D. 1724.

Having finished this great undertaking, early in the year 1726, Schultz, leaving to his colleagues the care of the mission at Tranquebar, determined on a visit to Madras, and embarked for Cuddalore, where he preached in German, Portuguese, and Tamul. Continuing his journey by land, he omitted no opportunity of instructing 1726.

A. D. 1726. the natives in the towns and villages on his way, and arrived at Madras on the 8th of May. Here he was hospitably received by the English chaplain, and spent some months in zealous endeavours to promote the knowledge of the gospel in that city and its neighbourhood. Amongst other labours, Schultz re-established the school founded by Mr. Stevenson, which had been entirely abandoned, for the instruction of native children.

1727. At the commencement of the next year died the learned and pious Professor Francke, of Halle, who had contributed materially to the establishment of the Danish mission, and who, more than any other person in Europe, had laboured zealously and successfully in its support. On the death of this able and excellent man, the Mission College at Copenhagen requested his son, who succeeded him in the professorship at Halle, to continue the correspondence which his father had so beneficially carried on in behalf of the mission. About the same time, his majesty King George I. addressed a second most gracious and encouraging letter to the missionaries at Tranquebar, who also received a considerable present in money, together with paper for the printing of the Tamul translation of the Bible, from the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

1728. In the year 1728, the same venerable Society, on the recommendation of Mr. Schultz, under-

took the sole patronage and support of a mission at Madras. With the assistance of the governor and council, a house was purchased in the Black Town for the use of the mission, of which Schultz took charge, and to which he immediately removed. There he preached constantly in the Tamul, Telinga, and Portuguese languages; and besides the superintendence of schools and other zealous labours, translated parts of the Bible, together with various tracts on religion, into Telinga and Hindostanee. The jealousy of the Roman Catholic priests, no less than of some native teachers, as in other places, excited considerable opposition, in some instances leading to open violence, against Schultz himself, as well as some of the Madras converts; but they were protected by the governor, their numbers gradually increased, and under the blessing of God the new mission prospered. A. D. 1728.

In the mean time, an opening had been providentially afforded for the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Tanjore, by means of a subaltern officer in the service of the rajah of that country, named Rajanaiken. This young man, whose father and grandfather were Roman Catholics, had been baptized in that church, and being ardently desirous of religious knowledge, he had learned to read when he was about twenty-two years of age. From the Roman Catholic

A. D. 1728. legends, and from the priests themselves, he derived little or no satisfaction; but happening to visit a pandaram[1] of his acquaintance, who possessed a copy of Ziegenbalg's Tamul translation of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, he was so delighted with the discovery, that he read it night and day, and transcribed a considerable part of the volume before he found that he might be permitted to retain it. About two years afterwards, having been sent on military duty to the neighbourhood of Tranquebar, he met with an address of the missionaries to the natives, which induced him first to open a correspondence with them, and then to visit them. In consequence of the instruction which he thus received, Rajanaiken became convinced of the errors of Popery, and cordially embraced the reformed doctrines; and such was the zeal of the new convert, that he immediately began to instruct his countrymen, both Pagan and Roman Catholic. The first fruits of his labours were three of his own soldiers, who were in the course of that year baptized at Tranquebar.

The example of Rajanaiken was soon followed by that of others. Surappen, a native who had been converted to the Roman Catholic faith, and was at that time employed as a catechist, perceiving the errors of the Romish church, sent his

[1] A Hindoo devotee.

son Sattianaden to Tranquebar, to be instructed in the purer principles of the gospel. Surappen was in the mean time actively engaged, notwithstanding the opposition of the Roman Catholic missionaries, in making proselytes to the Protestant faith. A few months afterwards, Sattianaden conducted more than fifteen converts to be baptized at Tranquebar; and having offered his services in the propagation of the gospel, the missionaries established him as a catechist in the kingdom of Tanjore.[1] Though no undue means were resorted to by the Danish missionaries or their catechists, in the exercise of their Christian ministry, the jealousy of the Roman Catholics was so much excited by their progress, that they persecuted the father of Sattianaden till they compelled him to return to the communion of their church, and even refused the rites of sepulture to his grandmother, though she died in the Roman Catholic faith. A. D. 1728.

Rajanaiken was also exposed to their persecutions. He was now in the service of the prince of Marava, and being confirmed in his attachment to Christianity by frequent visits to Tranquebar, he was unwearied in his endeavours to communicate it to his companions. He succeeded in convincing several who had embraced the Roman Catholic doctrines of their errors, and amongst

[1] Niecamp, vol. ii. p. 197.

A. D. 1728. others two inferior officers. The Popish catechists attempted in vain to regain them to their church. In a discussion upon religion, Rajanaiken supported his sentiments by such forcible appeals to the holy Scriptures, that his adversaries were unable to reply to them. He then, together with his two friends, determined on quitting the military service, and, though at the sacrifice of his worldly interest, embraced that of the mission. The Roman Catholic priests became, in consequence, more bitter than ever in their persecution of the Protestant converts, circulated the most calumnious accusations against Luther and the reformed doctrine, and even excited their followers to various acts of personal violence against Rajanaiken and his family. Their opposition, however, not only failed in checking the progress of the mission, but even tended to promote its success. Numbers both of Pagans and Mahommedans, as well as Roman Catholic Christians, resorted to Tranquebar for instruction; the access to the kingdom of Tanjore, which had been closed against Ziegenbalg, was effectually opened, and a journey shortly afterwards undertaken by Mr. Pressier into that country was attended by the happiest effects. At the same time, Mr. Schultz and Messrs. Walther and Bosse preached with success along the coast of Coromandel.

In the course of the following year died Malejappen, the schoolmaster who had accompanied Ziegenbalg to Europe. He was an excellent translator, and much attached to the interests of the mission. Several other natives, who died about the same period, gave the most satisfactory evidences of their faith in the gospel. A. D. 1729.

The progress of the missions, both at Tranquebar and Madras, now requiring additional help, two new missionaries, Messrs. Worm and Reichsteig, were appointed to the former, and a third, Mr. Sartorius, was taken under the immediate patronage of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for the service of the latter station. They arrived at Madras in August, 1730, and were received by Mr. Schultz with 1730. cordial delight and joy. Messrs. Worm and Reichsteig, after a stay of three weeks, pursued their journey to Tranquebar; Mr. Sartorius remained at Madras, and applied with such diligence to the study both of the Portuguese and Tamul, that he soon acquired a facility in speaking those languages, and was able to converse with the natives of the neighbouring villages.

The Madras mission, which had been supported 1731. by the late governor, Macrae, was equally favoured by the protection of his successor, Mr. Pitt; and towards the end of the year 1731, Mr. Schultz received a most encouraging letter from

A. D. 1731. the Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by a present of four hundred and twenty pagodas, which enabled him to repay a sum which he had borrowed, and to establish a second school for native children. In acknowledging this liberal donation, Schultz took occasion to solicit of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge still further assistance in the work of the mission. Mr. John Ernest Giesler, of Halle, was in consequence recommended to the Society, and together with Mr. Cnoll, who was appointed to act as physician to the mission, embarked at Deal in July, 1732, and safely reached Madras.

1732. Thus strengthened, the missionaries at that presidency proceeded with fresh vigour in their various labours, and the blessing of God evidently accompanied them. Amongst others, in conjunction with their brethren at Tranquebar, they visited Mr. Engelbert, the chaplain at Negapatam, and assisted him in his zealous endeavours to promote Christianity in the Dutch settlements on that coast. In these attempts Mr. Worm was particularly distinguished by the ability with which he conversed with the natives, convinced them of their errors, and conciliated their confidence, and in many instances he was successful in persuading them to embrace the gospel.[1]

The missionaries having long derived essential

[1] Niecamp, vol. iii. p. 33—35.

assistance from the labours of the native cate- A. D. 1732.
chists, and the numbers of converts in the neighbouring districts being now very considerable, deemed it highly expedient to provide for the discharge of the higher functions of the ministry by one of their own countrymen. For this important purpose they selected one of the catechists named Aaron, a man of respectable family, who had been baptized by Ziegenbalg, and who had for many years been distinguished both by his personal piety and by his talents and usefulness as a teacher. At the close of the year 1733, 1733.
the missionaries from Madras united with their brethren at Tranquebar and the chaplains of the Danish factory, in ordaining him to the work of the ministry, according to the rites of the Lutheran church. He was at this time about thirty-five years of age, and his long white pastoral robe, like that of the Syrian clergy, corresponded with the mild and amiable character of his appearance and manner. The mother and sister of Aaron had also embraced Christianity. The duty of the new minister was to preach and administer the sacraments alternately in a district of Tanjore, comprising several congregations of Christians; and such was the success with which he laboured, that in the course of the following year he had been the instrument of converting no less than fifty of his countrymen to the faith of

A. D. 1733. the gospel. The services of the catechists, particularly of Rajanaiken, had been at the same time eminently beneficial.

The translation of the Bible into the Hindostanee language, which had been completed in 1732 by the learning and diligence of Mr. Schultz, though not printed till some years afterwards, was a work from which the missionaries anticipated much advantage in their labours in that quarter.

1734. Mr. Sartorius having, in his late journey to Tranquebar, spent some days at Fort St. David, the governor expressed his readiness to assist in forming a mission in that neighbourhood. On communicating this intelligence to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Mr. Schultz was directed in the next despatch to take measures for that purpose. That zealous missionary having at the same time reported the want of adequate accommodation for preaching the Word of God in the only house then occupied by the mission at Madras, the Society immediately obtained the consent of the Court of Directors to build a church and two schools at that presidency, under the superintendence of the governor of Fort St. George and the agents of the Society. Instructions were accordingly sent to their correspondents to commence those buildings, in the hope that though their present remittances would

not be sufficient for so considerable a work, the Providence of God would enable them to complete it the following year.[1] A. D. 1734.

The attention of the missionaries at Tranquebar was in the year 1735 directed to the practicability of extending their Christian labours to Bengal, and they had written to request the assistance of their friends in England in carrying this design into execution, and had received their cordial acquiescence, when it was painfully interrupted by the premature loss of two of their number, Messrs. Reichsteig and Worm. These excellent men had been companions on the voyage to India, and had during nearly five years been zealous and indefatigable in the discharge of the laborious and self-denying duties of the mission. They died at Tranquebar within three weeks of each other, leaving a very powerful testimony to the truth and value of the principles and promises of the gospel. Mr. Worm, who had been a pupil of the celebrated Buddæus, professor of divinity at Jena, was a man of superior talents and acquirements, and admirably qualified to promote the cause of Christianity in India. His loss was therefore severely felt by his colleagues; but amidst the regret of being thus early called from the service of his Lord upon earth, and of being separated from an affectionate wife and an infant 1735.

[1] Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

A. D. 1735. daughter, he expressed in striking terms the peace which he enjoyed, and his lively hope of future happiness. His widow and child, however, survived him only a few weeks.[1]

Among the literary labours of the missionaries at this period, besides the printing of the Portuguese Bible, were a grammar in Tamul and German, and a History of the Church, composed by Mr. Walther in Tamul, and printed in 1735. This latter work was occasioned by a request of the catechist Rajanaiken, to be informed as to the origin and progress of the errors of the Church of Rome, in order that he might be better prepared to reply to the objections, and to refute the false opinions of the Roman Catholics. This ecclesiastical history, which overturned the pretended antiquity of the Romish Church, and which was extremely useful to the country catechists, was particularly designed for the instruction of the pupils of the seminary, who were to be educated as catechists and schoolmasters. About the same time Mr. Sartorius completed the Tamul Dictionary which had been commenced by Ziegenbalg.

1736. The presents sent to the missionaries at Tranquebar and Madras, from the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, amounted, in the year 1736, to no less a sum than £1,500, and in

[1] Niecamp, vol. iii. p. 124.

the following year, to £1,700 sterling; while the collections in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, on several occasions, exceeded three thousand crowns. The zeal and liberality of professor Francke, of Halle, in promoting these subscriptions, are frequently mentioned in their reports. A. D. 1736.

The mission which the governor of Fort St. George had promised to support, was in the year 1737 established by Messrs. Sartorius and Giesler, at the neighbouring town of Cuddalore. The missionaries had often preached there; and though at first the native inhabitants were indisposed to hear them, great numbers were in process of time persuaded to embrace the gospel. This branch, however, of the Madras mission did not long enjoy the benefit of Mr. Sartorius' labours. That active and valuable missionary died the next year, and was buried at Cuddalore; all the English gentlemen there attending his funeral. His loss was particularly felt, on account of his remarkable skill in the Tamul language; the most learned natives acknowledging that he spoke it like a brahmin. The death of Mr. Sartorius was followed by that of Mr. Pressier, at Tranquebar, after twelve years of faithful and effective service in that mission. The loss, however, of these pious men was happily repaired, by the arrival of three new missionaries, viz., Mr. Wiedebrœck, and Messrs. Obuch and Kolhoff, who

1737. 1738.

A. D. 1739. had studied for some years at Halle. The mission was farther strengthened, by the embarkation, in the year 1739, of Mr. Kiernander, who had been a teacher in the Orphan House, and was recommended by professor Francke to succeed Mr. Sartorius in the mission at Cuddalore. He was accompanied by Messrs. Fabricius and Zegler, from the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen, whose immediate destination was to Tranquebar. By the ship in which these missionaries sailed, thirteen chests, valued at £1,500, including, besides books, and printing and other paper, foreign silver for the use of the mission, were sent as usual, free of freight, by the kindness of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

1740. In the year 1740, Mr. Schultz, in addition to the preparation of some native youths for the service of the mission, as catechists and schoolmasters, accomplished the important point of commencing a Tamul school for the children of heathen parents, under a Christian schoolmaster. He began with eight boys, sons of merchants and tradesmen at Cuddalore, and indulged the hope that this measure would not only lead to a more intimate acquaintance with the inhabitants, but, by the blessing of God, tend to the introduction of Christianity among the natives. In this year the missionaries and catechists at Tranque-

bar were remarkably favoured by the numbers added to their congregations. They also nearly completed their new school buildings; while at Cuddalore the mission under the care of Mr. Giesler was gradually prospering. A. D. 1740.

With the approbation of the Mission College at Copenhagen, they, at the close of the year, ordained the catechist Diego, who had long been most diligently and faithfully engaged in that humble but useful employment, to assist the native preacher, Aaron, who was now become infirm, and unable to perform his ministerial duties to a large congregation.[1]

The general cause of the mission sustained a great loss in the year 1742, by the return to Europe of Mr. Schultz, in consequence of ill health, after more than twenty years' residence in India. By this event the mission at Madras was deprived of a labourer of great learning, piety, and zeal, whose services from its establishment had been peculiarly valuable, and who marked his own attachment to its interests, by generously presenting the house in which he resided for the use of the mission. His place was immediately supplied by Mr. Fabricius, who entered upon the arduous duties of that station with that deep humility and dependence on the providence and grace of God, 1742.

[1] Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

A. D. 1742. which formed the best security for the success of his labours.

The enlargement of their missions had now for some time pressed heavily on the funds of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and they even began to fear that they should not be able to meet its increasing expenditure. They were, however, encouraged by "a most friendly and Christian letter from professor Francke, full of good-will towards the missions at Madras and Cuddalore," and remitting £250 towards their support. Animated by this seasonable aid, they requested that excellent man to provide two additional missionaries for those stations, trusting, as they piously declared,[1] "that the same wise and good providence of God which had hitherto blessed them in all their undertakings to spread the pure gospel of his Son Christ Jesus in all parts of the world, would raise up benefactors to contribute whatever might be wanted towards
1743. it." Accordingly, in the following year professor Francke sent out, at his own charge, the Rev. Messrs. Breithaupt and Klein, to Tranquebar; and out of his affectionate regard to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, he remitted a further sum of £300 towards the support of the two missions at Madras and Cuddalore. Two years afterwards, the same liberal and zealous

[1] Reports of the Society.

benefactor sent an additional donation of 200*l.*; A. D. 1743.
on which occasion the Society expressed its earnest wishes for the general diffusion of the truly Christian spirit which animated that distinguished friend to the cause of missions.

The annual reports of the Society at this 1745.
period contain many gratifying statements of the successful labours of the missionaries. The two native preachers, Aaron and Diego, in their travels through the villages of the district which had been assigned to them, were eminently useful; and so numerous were their converts in some of them, that it became necessary, according to the custom of the country, to appoint a Christian warden or superintendent over them. The former of these pious men finished his course in June 1745, after eleven years of diligent service as an itinerant pastor and teacher, having, during that period, been the means of converting many hundred souls. His end appears to have been hastened by his journeyings and fatigues; and such was his amiable character, and his holy and exemplary conduct, that he was almost equally lamented by the missionaries, and by his native countrymen.

The death of Mr. Obuch, one of the missionaries at Tranquebar, followed shortly after that of the pastor Aaron. He was, according to the testimony of his colleagues, a most faithful and

A. D. 1745. affectionate brother, conscientious in the discharge of his duty, and persevering in it even to the disregard of life, so that he might fulfil the ministry which he had received, and finish his course with joy.

1746. The war between France and England, which commenced in 1744, having extended to India, in September 1746, a French fleet appeared off Madras; and having landed a body of troops, after a bombardment of five days, Fort St. George was compelled to capitulate. The French commander at first promised to protect the mission; but soon afterwards, having ordered a great part of the Black, or native, Town to be levelled with the ground, for the purpose of improving the defence of Madras, the Mission House was destroyed, and the church converted into a magazine. Upon this unexpected calamity, Mr. Fabricius retired with the children of the mission school to Pulicat, a Dutch settlement in the neighbourhood, where the governor gave them a kind and hospitable reception. Here, with the assistance of a catechist and two schoolmasters, he took charge not only of the Christians who were with him, but of the converts near Madras, constantly visiting the villages around him to disseminate the principles of
1748. the gospel. On the restoration of peace in 1748, Mr. Fabricius returned to Madras, and through

the good offices of Admiral Boscawen, the English mission, after some delay, obtained possession of a spacious church at Vepery near the town, with the houses and gardens attached to it, which had belonged to the Roman Catholic missionaries, but from which they had been expelled, on account of their treasonable communications with the French during the war. It is due to the memory of Mr. Fabricius, to notice his zeal and charity during this critical period, in abating nearly one third of his salary, and living himself in the simplest manner, carrying the fruits of his self-denying economy to the account of the mission fund. The Romish church at Cuddalore was at the same time transferred by the governor of Fort St. David to Mr. Kiernander, by the name of Christ's Church, for the use of the missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and as a place of public worship for the increase of the Protestant religion. A. D. 1749.

Having thus reviewed the origin and progress of the missions at Tranquebar and Madras, up to the year in which the venerable subject of the following Memoirs embarked for India, a brief recapitulation of the actual state of the missions at that period, and of the success which had attended their various labours, may properly close this preliminary sketch.

A. D. 1750. It appears by the returns regularly made to the Mission College at Copenhagen, and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, that from the arrival of Ziegenbalg in 1706, to the year 1750, the numbers of the converts at Tranquebar, and in the towns and villages of the neighbouring districts, to which the missionaries and their catechists and teachers had access, amounted to nearly eight thousand; and that from the year 1728 to the same period, the converts at Madras and Cuddalore, and along the coast of Coromandel, might be estimated at more than one thousand. Of these a very small proportion were proselytes from the Roman Catholic faith; though such is the general ignorance of the converts from heathenism by the missionaries of that church, that, with the exception of a few unmeaning forms, they could scarcely be considered as differing from their pagan countrymen. A few instances occurred of conversion from the Mahomedans, but their well-known prejudice and bigotry rendered these extremely rare. The great majority of the Protestant converts were native Hindoos or their children, chiefly, as might be expected, though by no means exclusively, even at that period, of the lower castes of the inhabitants.

It is not intended to be asserted that all these converts were well-informed and consistent Christians; but one of the principal fea-

tures in the history of these Protestant missions is, the unwearied diligence and the scrupulous care and conscientious fidelity, with which the missionaries and other teachers laboured to prepare their catechumens for baptism, and to instruct their congregations in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, and the primitive discipline which they exercised over them. Their periodical reports afford many unquestionable proofs and most interesting memorials of the faith and piety of their converts, many examples of christian virtue, and many instances of opposition and persecution, "for righteousness' sake," sustained with a stedfastness, meekness, and patience well worthy of the purest ages of the church, the genuineness and authenticity of which cannot fairly be doubted. Many a death-bed scene also is recorded in these reports,[1] in which the dying Hindoo, and not unfrequently the *female* convert, expressed with intelligence, humility, and ardent gratitude, the heartfelt penitence, the holy dispositions, and the heavenly hopes of the true Christian. Even where the instructions and exhortations of the missionaries failed of producing any effectual change of religious profession, there was

A. D. 1750.

[1] Upon all these points the original acts of the Danish mission in German, or the admirable abridgment of them by Niecamp, either in Latin in two volumes quarto, or in the French translation of M. Gaudard, with a preface by professor Francke, may be advantageously consulted.

A. D. 1750. often a strong conviction on the native mind of the folly of idolatry, and the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation; and a very general impression was evident in its favour from the unwearied and disinterested labours, and the holy and exemplary lives of the christian teachers. Nor was this all. The dispersion of the various translations of the holy scriptures, and the distribution of numerous tracts and treatises, printed at the Tranquebar press, tended to disseminate christian knowledge and christian principles, far beyond the narrow limits of the Protestant missions and their immediate vicinity, and to prepare the way for that more extensive diffusion of the gospel in India, which we have happily lived to witness.

It was under a deep sense of the important effects already produced by these establishments, that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, when recording the grants from the governors of Madras and Fort St. David, of the Roman Catholic churches at Vepery and Cuddalore, added its anxious expectation, that the directors of the East India Company would be disposed voluntarily to take the Protestant missions under their more immediate protection and favour, and to show some special marks of encouragement to that zeal and fidelity which the missionaries had manifested, not only for the Protestant religion, but likewise for the interest and service of the

Company, particularly during the late war; concluding with an earnest hope, that all of this church and nation would enlarge their contributions to this fund, till it became sufficient to maintain such a number of missionaries and schools as might, by the grace of God, once more spread throughout the East the gospel of Christ in its original simplicity and purity, reformed from all the corruptions and abominations of popery. A. D. 1750.

These pious aspirations were, indeed, but faintly echoed by the feelings of the nation at large. Something may, doubtless, be attributed to the imperfect dissemination at that period of religious information, and still more to the little interest excited in behalf of the inhabitants of a country so distant, and comparatively so unknown, as India, at a time when the English possessions consisted of but little beyond a few factories on its coasts. The Society, however, laudably persevered in its zealous endeavours to promote Christianity in the East; and in the eminent missionary, whose elevated character and important labours are to be developed in the following pages, the providence of God raised up an instrument admirably qualified to carry on its benevolent designs, during the eventful period in which Great Britain was pursuing her triumphant career towards the vast empire which she now possesses in Oriental India.

MEMOIR

OF

THE REV. C. F. SWARTZ.

CHAPTER I.

Early life and Education of Swartz.—His removal to Halle.—Proposal to go out as a Danish missionary to Tranquebar.—He obtains the consent of his father.—His Ordination.—Departure for England, and kind reception by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.—He embarks for India.—Account of his voyage.—He arrives at Tranquebar.—First occupations at the Mission.

CHAP. I. — 1726.

THOUGH the honour of originating the first Protestant mission to India belongs, as we have seen, to Denmark, it is remarkable that, from its commencement, the majority of those who have been, engaged in its service, have been natives of Germany. Of this number was the distinguished subject of these Memoirs.

CHAP. I. 1726. Christian Frederick Schwartz,[1] was born at Sonnenburg, a small town in the Electorate of Brandenburgh, now the kingdom of Prussia, on the 26th of October, 1726. His father's name was George, and his station in life appears to have been respectable. The family name of his mother was Gruner. This pious woman died during his infancy; but on her death-bed, she in the most solemn manner informed her husband and the pastor who attended her, that she had dedicated her son to the Lord, and obtained a promise from them both, that he should be trained up in the remembrance of this sacred destination; and that if he should in due time express a desire to be educated for the ministry, they would cherish and promote it to the utmost of their power.

1734. At the age of eight years young Swartz was sent to the principal grammar school at Sonnenburg, where, together with the elements of classical learning, he received many good impressions from the moral and religious instructions of

[1] This, it is scarcely necessary to observe, is the correct orthography of his name, and that which he used in the earlier period of his life; but as, during the greater part of it, he invariably adopted, both in corresponding with his friends, and in public documents, the simpler form, probably from its more easy pronunciation, and is by this generally known, he will be thus designated in the following Memoirs.

its rector, Mr. Helm. This excellent person particularly enforced upon his pupils the importance of private devotion, and encouraged them to offer up their petitions in language suggested by their own feelings. Swartz afterwards declared,[1] that even at that early age he used frequently to retire from his youthful companions into solitude, and there pour out his heart before God; that he found this practice highly beneficial, and that when conscious especially of having acted wrong, he could never regain tranquillity of mind, until he had earnestly implored the divine forgiveness. CHAP. I. 1734.

On the removal of Mr. Helm by his entrance on ministerial duty, his successor neglected the religious improvement of his scholars, and Swartz became comparatively indifferent. He was about this time confirmed according to the rites of the Lutheran church; but the clergyman who examined him, was too easily satisfied with the mere verbal replies of the catechumens to his questions on the catechism, without impressing upon them the necessity of giving up the heart to God. Hence, though on partaking, for the first time, of the holy communion, Swartz was considerably 1740.

[1] In Dr. Knapp's and other biographical sketches, it is said that Swartz made this declaration in a memoir written by himself; but it is well known that he never wrote or published any thing of this kind. It was probable, therefore, in some letter to a friend that this circumstance was mentioned.

CHAP. I. 1742.

affected, these pious emotions, for want of being suitably cherished, quickly subsided.

Having now acquired as much knowledge of Latin and Greek as the school of his native place could afford him, together with the rudiments of Hebrew, he was sent to an academy at the neighbouring town of Custrin, to pursue his studies, and to be qualified for the university. The father of Swartz, who was evidently a man of sense and piety, had always accustomed him to much simplicity and self-denial. He walked on foot with him to Custrin, where he consigned him to the care of his new master, and, unlike the parents of two of his young friends from the same town, allowed him no more money than was required for his necessary expenses. Here, by associating with some thoughtless companions, his heart became still more alienated from God, though he endeavoured to preserve a correct deportment. Occasionally, his good impressions were revived by the animated discourses of the Rev. Mr. Stegmann, one of the parochial ministers of Custrin; but he imagined that it was not possible for him, while he remained there, to lead a religious life, having no just conception at that time of the nature of genuine piety, and not perceiving the necessity of divine strength to enable him to persevere in a christian course. While at this place, happily for his future improvement,

he became acquainted with one of the Syndics, who had formerly been a student at Halle, and who retained great respect for the professors of that university. The daughter of this gentleman, who appears to have taken a lively interest in the young scholar, endeavoured to point out to him his previous errors, and to convince him of the importance of greater decision of character. She lent him several books, among which was the remarkable narrative of the rise and progress of the Orphan House at Glaucha, near Halle, entitled "Demonstrations of the footsteps of a divine Being yet in the World," by the celebrated Augustus Hermann Francke. This extraordinary work made a deep impression upon his mind. It first inspired him with a wish to visit Halle, and proved, in fact, the turning point of his future destination. When reviewing, however, this period of his life, Swartz afterwards observed that he was diligent in study, but chiefly from worldly motives; and that twice in seasons of dangerous illness he had resolved to devote himself entirely to God, but that he soon forgot his good resolutions.

On his return from Custrin, well prepared by his progress in learning for the university, and having exhibited in his general conduct a striking contrast to that of his two companions from Sonnenburg, his father, referring to the strict

CHAP. I. 1742. economy which he had exercised with respect to his expenses, thus addressed him: "My dear Frederick, you may, perhaps, have sometimes repined on comparing your homely food and clothing with that of others: and possibly you may have thought that your father did not love you so much as the parents of some of your friends; but I trust that your own good sense, and the painful example of their failure will have led you to perceive my reasons for inuring you to hardships, and never encouraging you in self-indulgence. I may now justly hope that in whatever situation it may please God to place you, you will be qualified to sustain it:"—a sentiment which was virtually prophetic of his future arduous and self-denying career.

1746. In the year 1746 Swartz proceeded to Halle, with a view of attending the Grammar School of the Orphan House; but his distinguished countryman, Schultz, who, as we have seen, had returned from the Madras mission three years before, and was then residing at Halle, advised him to enter the university at once, as he had attained his twentieth year, and was already sufficiently grounded in elementary knowledge. He accordingly followed this advice, and diligently attended the lectures of the professors Baumgarten, Michaelis, Knapp, and Freylinghausen, boarding and lodging in the mean time at the Orphan

House. While pursuing his studies there, he was chosen to be preceptor to the Latin classes, and to assist in the evening assemblies for prayer, appointed by the venerable founder to be held with the attendants and servants of the institution. These pious employments were highly beneficial to him; and, together with the instruction which he received at the devotional meetings, under the direction of the Rev. G. F. Weiss, Inspector of the German School, and his intercourse with the learned and pious professor Francke, confirmed him in the determination of devoting himself to God, and established him in that truly christian course, the excellence of which his subsequent life so strikingly displayed.

It was at this time in contemplation to print a new edition of the Bible, in Tamul, at Halle, under the superintendence of the late missionary Schultz, who was also carrying through the press a devotional tract, which he had translated into the same language, for the purpose of distribution in India. In connexion with another of the students, Swartz was recommended to acquire some knowledge of Tamul, in order to qualify him to assist in correcting the printing of these works; but though the intended edition of the Bible was not eventually carried into execution, this study occupied him for several months, and probably first directed his mind towards the sphere of his

CHAP. I. — 1748.

future labours. While thus engaged, Swartz learned that professor Francke was making inquiries for new missionaries to India; and though the idea of such an employment had but recently occurred to him, he determined, if he could obtain his father's approbation, to offer himself for that important work.

For this purpose he made a journey to his native place. But here every thing seemed unfavourable; for, being the eldest son, he was considered the chief prop of the family, and no member of it would believe that his father could be brought to consent to such a project. Swartz, however, stated his wishes, together with the motives which influenced him, with great seriousness and solemnity, to his father; who, instead of putting an immediate negative upon the proposal, as had been expected, replied, that he would take two or three days to consider of it, and fixed a time for declaring his determination. The important day arrived; and the family waited with divided anxiety for the decision; the young candidate for this arduous undertaking afraid of a refusal, though not afraid of a consent. At length, his father came down from his chamber, gave him his blessing, and bade him depart in God's name; charging him to forget his native country and his father's house, and to go and win many souls to Christ.

Having thus obtained his dismission, he has-

tened his departure; and, generously resigning his patrimony to his brothers and sisters, he returned to Halle. A few days afterwards, an advantageous offer was made to him of entering upon the ministry at home; but he felt that the die was cast, and that having deliberately put his hand to the plough, it did not become him to look back. How manifestly this determination originated in the superintending providence of God, and was crowned with his blessing, the subsequent history of this eminent missionary has abundantly proved.

On the 8th of August, 1749, Swartz set out for Copenhagen, for the purpose of receiving holy orders, accompanied by two other new missionaries to India, Messrs. Poltzenhagen and Hutteman. They reached that city on the 23rd, were examined on the 6th of September by Dr. Hersleb, Bishop of Zealand and Primate of Denmark, and ordained to the sacred ministry by Bishop Horreboa; and on the 19th they left Copenhagen on their return to Halle.

Every necessary preparation having been made for their intended voyage, the three missionaries took their leave of their pious and excellent friends in that university; and it being intended that they should proceed to India by way of England, they repaired to Helvoetsluys, where they embarked, and reached Harwich on the 6th

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S S...

CHAP. I. — 1749.

of December; the next day they pursued their journey to Colchester, and on the 8th arrived in London. There they remained six weeks, during which time they were diligently employed in learning the English language, and in preparing for their important destination. Though they were not formally presented at any public meeting of the board, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge most kindly received and provided for them during their stay in this country. The following extracts translated from two letters of Swartz in German, to the Rev. Dr. Francke, contain some interesting particulars of their feelings and occupations from the time of their departure from Halle. The commencement of the first is very characteristic of his mind, and is dated from Kensington, 18th of December, 1749.

"God hath ordered all things well on the voyage. Our hearts (more especially mine) were very cheerful during the storming and raging of the sea; and I have frequently reminded myself of the 46th psalm with great joy. Praised be God! This ought to be the beginning, middle, and end of my letter. If God maketh this only to resound in our hearts, that he, Jehovah, our sun and shield, is with us, we can then not only be tranquil, but cheerful.

"Our occupations here have been of singular use, and a great refreshment to us. In every dif-

ficulty we could have recourse to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, the venerable chaplain of his Majesty, who has behaved to us with paternal kindness, and has given us such plain directions as we, like inexperienced children, stood in need of. This was our daily occupation, to take lessons and receive instruction. Then we had also to preach a few sermons; I twice, namely, once in the royal chapel on the first day of the Nativity, and afterwards for the Rev. Mr. Pittius at the Savoy; Mr. Poltzenhagen four times, and Mr. Hutteman three. May God bless what has been spoken in great weakness!" CHAP. I. 1749.

The directors of the East India Company having, at the request of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, kindly granted the three missionaries a free passage on board the Lynn, Captain Egerton, they proceeded to Deal to embark in that ship. The second letter referred to is dated from that port, January 24th, 1750, in which Swartz thus writes.

"The 10th of January, according to the old style, which is yet used here, or the 21st according to the new, was the day on which we left dear Kensington, where God bestowed so much grace upon us. On the preceding evening we were from seven till ten with his Majesty's 1750.

CHAP. I.

1750.

chaplain, who said many things to the awakening of our hearts. He gave us the 120th psalm for meditation on our voyage. 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.' Whatever could in any way contribute to our comfort and encouragement, that he did. On new year's day also he addressed us publicly from the pulpit, from these words, 'Be not afraid, only believe.' (Mark vi. 36.) At the same time he exhorted the congregation to pray for us. On the same evening he prayed again with us, commended us to the mercy of our God, and gave us some copies of his lately published Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. He then dismissed us with the cordial admonition, not to allow our brotherly love to cool. May God write all that we have heard deeply on our hearts!

"Thus we departed on the 21st of January, N. S., in the name of Jesus, accompanied by that trusty German, Matthieson, who has conducted all the missionaries from Mr. Walther[1] until now. On the 23rd we arrived at Deal, in perfect health and spirits. Here we lodge in a house which is only a few paces from the shore, so that from our windows we see nothing but the sea. My heart is filled with cheerful confidence, being convinced that as God has taken us under his paternal care during our late travels, so will he likewise continue to be our Protector. If we will only cleave sted-

[1] In the year 1725.

fastly to him, he will also most certainly be with us, and be our faithful God. And he will graciously hear the prayers with which we know so many of his children and servants accompany us. Now, therefore, we go forth in the name of the Lord, who hath called us to be his servants and messengers among the heathen; who will also guide and bring us to the destined place." CHAP. I. 1750.

The next letter which was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, announces his actual embarkation.

"From on board the Lynn, off the Isle of Wight, near Portsmouth, Feb. 1, 1750.

"There comes a ship to bring us provisions, by which I send you a few lines. On the 29th of January we left Deal. God hath given us a favourable wind, with which we have already sailed past Portsmouth. Praised be his name, we are all well. Our cabin is below that of the captain. We are alone, for which we have thankfully to acknowledge the goodness of God. We are as conveniently accommodated as can be expected on board ship. God be praised for it! The captain is a good, plain-dealing man, and the other passengers show us much kindness. We talk English as yet very badly, but they all encourage us to speak, and no one laughs at our

CHAP. I. — 1750.

blunders. Several of them know a little Latin, and use their utmost endeavours to explain to us whatever we do not understand. We return hearty thanks to God for having brought us to this ship. Hitherto, he hath graciously preserved us, that no one has sustained any hurt, except that last night a sailor fell into the water; however, he was saved. The number of persons on board is about an hundred, and a few passengers. We pass our time in reading the holy Scriptures in the original languages, and other good books, and practise reading and writing English, according to your kind instruction. There are persons on board who go to India for pleasure. One of them goes for the fifth time, and says it is a very pleasant voyage. There are also many children on board who learn navigation. Now this I have written in haste. May Jesus bless you abundantly, and hear your prayers, and those of other children and servants of God for us! O, the Lord is faithful, and never yet forsook his people.

"C. F. Swartz."

The ship did not, however, proceed on its voyage so quickly as was expected. On the 3rd of February Swartz wrote to Mr. Ziegenhagen as follows.

"Filial love requires us to make use of this op-

portunity of informing you of our circumstances. When we last wrote to you, we were off the Isle of Wight, and had a most favourable wind; but we were obliged to lay to for more than half a day, before the things which the ship brought us from Deal were taken on board. Towards evening we sailed, and by Monday had come already close to the Bay of Biscay. In the morning the wind veered about, and the captain found himself compelled to return to some harbour. Here the motion of the ship was so violent, that I experienced something of the sea sickness, but only for a few minutes. That day about four, we arrived off Falmouth. We were met by two pilots, and the captain engaged him who came first to the ship; but the other, on coming up, expressed his great dissatisfaction, not so much because he had not been engaged, as because the other had not conducted us aright. He disputed so long, that the first was obliged to go away. This morning we found that the man had just grounds for his displeasure. For when it was ebb tide, our ship had not sufficient water, but struck frequently against the ground with such a crash, as if a gun was fired. At the same time there was a great storm, so that we might have sustained much injury, if God had not preserved us. Now we praise him that we were forced to return; for in this storm we should have been in the greatest

CHAP. I. 1750.

danger off the Spanish coast. Thus we daily perceive that his goodness preserves us. O that we might always look only to him, rest in his will, and filially resign ourselves to it! Our captain shows us great kindness. For the rest, I pray God daily, that he would purify my heart more and more from all dross, and by his Spirit fit me for the important office for which, unworthy as I am, he has, out of mere grace, ordained me. I rest assured that you also will daily beg this grace for myself, and my dear brethren.

"C. F. Swartz."

The ship was detained at Falmouth by contrary winds rather more than a month; but this delay was amply compensated by its escape from the storms which, as it afterwards appeared, some others had encountered; in noticing which circumstance, many years afterwards, one of the brethren at Tranquebar took occasion to observe, that during the century which had elapsed since the commencement of the Danish mission, and in the course of which about fifty missionaries had sailed to India, no vessel which contained any one of them had perished.

In the following letter addressed to professor Francke, Swartz, with a fervour and simplicity of expression peculiar to the German language, gives a detailed account of the continuance of their

voyage, and of their safe arrival in India. It is dated from Tranquebar, October 8, 1750. CHAP. I. 1750.

"We can now joyfully relate how graciously God hath heard your supplications to his goodness for us. With undeserved grace and mercy he hath brought us, hath graciously averted all perils on our long voyage, mightily refreshed us during the course of it both in soul and body, and caused us to reach the end of it speedily and happily, in four months and four days. We could scarcely have imagined, that he would so paternally and graciously guide us. His name be humbly praised and glorified now and in eternity!

"In order to give you, reverend sir, a somewhat detailed account of this gracious guidance of our God, that you may magnify his name with us, I shall briefly relate the most important particulars from our diary, not having yet found time to copy the diary itself, which your Reverence will kindly excuse.

"How God conducted us into Falmouth harbour, and what we there noticed to his praise, you will have observed from the short letter which we wrote on the day of our departure. On the 12th of March 1750, God gave us a good wind, and every thing was prepared for sailing. But the tide being then at ebb, we were obliged to wait till the evening, as we could not otherwise

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SA...

CHAP. I. — 1750.

get safely out of the harbour. In the afternoon, an inhabitant of the town came on board, who had been powerfully awakened by Mr. Whitefield. This man related to us many things, particularly of the minister at Falmouth—how zealous he was in the discharge of his duty. We regretted that we had not visited him; and as the stranger intimated that he would salute him from us, we sent the minister professor Zimmermann's Treatise on the Excellency of the Knowledge of Christ, translated into Latin, in which we wrote a few lines.

"About seven in the evening we sailed, in the name of God, out of the harbour, with a man of war, which we thought was to escort us; but the next day we learned that she was to escort the Norfolk. With this divine dispensation, we were well satisfied, believing that we should not need that convoy, if we could only say with David, (Ps. xlvi. 7,) 'The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge.' If the Lord be for us, who or what can be against us? We met a Dutch ship, from Smyrna to Rotterdam, the captain of which informed us, that he had suffered much from the late severe storms, whilst we were quietly in the harbour. On the 16th, we were met by two ships, which exhibited a sad spectacle. One of them had sprung a large leak, and drew several feet of water, so that she lay very deep, and rolled from side to side. Our captain backed

the sails, and sent the carpenter, with an officer, and some others, to see whether they could assist; but on their return, they declared that the vessel must sink. The other ship, therefore, kept quite close to the damaged one, that the people might save themselves.

"On the 21st of March, I had a fever, which continued till the 10th of April. As I fell away so much, the doctor was alarmed; but God helped me graciously, and soon restored to me my bodily strength. I must also confess, to his praise, that this sickness has been of great service to me. On the 22nd of March, we had, for the first time, divine service on board our ship, which afforded us great pleasure. On the 29th, we passed the tropic of Cancer; and on the 18th of April, we crossed the line, for the first time. There was great joy on board, that we had not been detained longer. On the 22nd, we were in the height of Ascension. The 30th, God visibly preserved a youth from death, who had entered on board to learn navigation. A thick cable fell down from above, exactly on the spot where he was standing; but before it reached him, he perceived it, and narrowly escaped. Towards evening, a ship was seen. We rejoiced at first, hoping for an opportunity of sending letters; but our joy had nearly been changed to fear, as our people began to think they might be enemies, and made preparations for

CHAP. I. 1750.

defence. Early the next morning we looked out for her, but in vain. On the 5th of May, we passed the tropic of Capricorn, and thus left the torrid zone. As soon as the trade wind ceased, we were favoured with a delightful breeze from E. N. E. If we attend to the different changes of winds, we may observe agreeable traces of the admirable wisdom of God. On the 7th, we saw a French vessel, and, on our captain firing a signal gun, to desire them to wait, they did so, and we came up with her towards evening. The captains conversed with each other on their observations, and ours agreed pretty well with theirs. It was a great advantage that we could observe so well in our ship; for even in hazy weather, the sun appeared a little about noon. The chief mate requested us to communicate the observations contained in our diaries, particularly with regard to the variation of the compass. We did so, and he gratefully acknowledged it, by giving us a fine large Cheshire cheese.[1] The 11th of May we had a very high wind, and the next day a calm. While we spoke of it in the evening, and sighed to God that he would have pity on us, as before, suddenly there arose a very favourable breeze. Thus God fulfilled to us

[1] This is always an acceptable present in India, and was frequently among the gratuities sent out by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge to their missionaries.

what he has promised—'Before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear.' So that we could praise God with joyful hearts. On the 17th of May, we celebrated the Feast of Pentecost, and heartily besought God that, by his Spirit, whom Jesus has obtained, he would fit us for the important office to which he has called us. The 19th of May, our dear brother Hutteman was seized with alarming sickness; but God most graciously blessed the use of the medicines out of the travelling chest which you gave us, so that he was fully restored to us in a few days. On the 23rd we had an unusually brisk gale; the ship inclined so much, that it shipped water, which we had not hitherto seen. However, it passed over without damage. On the 27th, we had a complete calm, so that the captain and the chief mate went out in a boat, to shoot birds; but in the following night arose a real storm, which, as it came unexpectedly, tore all the sails. When we came upon deck in the morning, they all hung in rags, and we had only one small sail hoisted. We did not, however, yield to anxious or desponding thoughts. So faithful is God! In need he refresheth, and comforteth abundantly. The 30th of May, we had very pleasant weather, which was a great relief after the storm. On the 31st, we saw a Dutch ship. We all wished that it might approach us, but were disappointed, as it

CHAP. I. — 1750.

passed us at a considerable distance; but in the afternoon our joy was the greater, as we got a sight of the Cape. The mountains presented themselves at a distance, like clouds; but as we came nearer, we could see them distinctly. We praised God heartily, the more so, as we had on this very day been powerfully impressed in meditating on the words, (1 Cor. xv. 58,) 'Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour will not be in vain in the Lord.'

"From this time, we began to look out for India, and thought we had now left the worst behind. But on the 17th of June, in the night, we had a most furious storm, in which all declared we were in great danger. Even the next day it was frightful to behold, and it was much heightened by the heavy rain which accompanied the wind. Meanwhile, when the tempest was at the highest, we slept in peace and quiet: a gracious God had hidden the danger from us. On the 19th, there was a pretty strong breeze. A rope, with which a sail was belayed, happened to break, which caused the ship to heel a little, and all at once we lay on our side. The captain called out to the men at the helm to put the ship about; but they could not accomplish it. The vessel had inclined altogether to one side, and was, more-

over, quite wet from the rain, so that the people fell as they attempted to walk on the deck. However, the storm at length subsided, and we sustained no material injury. In how many distresses hath not our gracious God covered us, as it were, with his wings! On the 30th of June, we passed the tropic of Capricorn a second time. Now we came again into a pleasant climate; hitherto we had sometimes very cold weather. The 4th of July the rope at the helm broke, and, as the wind happened to blow fresh, the ship fell into some disorder. On the 10th, we again crossed the line. The 13th was a most agreeable day; for we then came in sight of Ceylon. The chief mate discovered it about nine in the morning. The joy which this produced on board is hardly to be described, since the greater number scarcely expected that we should make it so directly. We said, 'This hath God done!' O, how great is his goodness, and how graciously doth he hear our prayers! May the kindness which he hath showed us in this instance, serve to strengthen us in filial confidence!

"This day and the following, we enjoyed the delightful smell of cinnamon. At the same time, we had a most favourable wind, so that, during the day, we passed at a good distance by the rocks of Ceylon. On the 16th of July we were approaching the coast of Coromandel: every one,

CHAP. I. — 1750.

therefore, looked out eagerly for land; but the night drew on, and we could see none. About nine, we found a bottom at fifteen fathoms; and it was remarkable that, as soon as it was found, the wind ceased. We therefore dropped the anchor. In the morning, when we looked out, we not only beheld the coast, but found ourselves right opposite to Cuddalore. We praised the name of the Lord for this paternal guidance: and whosoever delights in the traces of his gracious providence will, on hearing it, exalt his name together.

"After we had cast anchor, the natives immediately came on board. The sight of these poor people, who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, deeply affected our hearts; and we awakened ourselves cheerfully to work at their conversion, and to recommend to them the salvation of the gospel. Now, the Lord vouchsafe to give us wisdom, grace, and strength, to accomplish this purpose, since we are most unworthy to be unto them 'a savour of life unto life.' We informed the Rev. Mr. Kiernander[1] of our arrival, and he sent in the afternoon a country boat to fetch us. There we took our leave of the officers and passengers, who had showed us every kindness. They were much moved at parting, and wished

[1] The Society's missionary at Cuddalore.—See Introductory Sketch, p. 44.

us every blessing in our future ministry. May the Lord do good abundantly to them all! In the evening, dear Mr. Kiernander received us, and praised the name of the Lord for all the mercy he had shown us.

CHAP. I. — 1750.

"I should now give an account of our occupations during the voyage. But as they were substantially the same as those of our predecessors, that is, preparing ourselves for our duty in the best manner we were able, I shall be brief. Every morning and evening, and frequently during the day, we stirred up ourselves by joint prayer and meditation on the holy Scriptures, by which God graciously refreshed us. Afterwards, each of us, apart, used either to meditate on some passage of Scripture, or read some other devotional book. From eleven to twelve, we practised reading English together, besides what each afterwards read for himself. The German Mission Accounts, hitherto edited, five volumes and a half, we have partially perused. Mr. Niecamp's Abridgment, and the first volume, we have nearly read through. This occupation we have found to be of great advantage. We also kept a diary; but as in many places it is rather illegibly written, in consequence of the rolling of the vessel, and we do not wish to send it so, we shall by the first ships send one fair copy of it to your Reverence, and one to the Mission College.

CHAP. I. — 1750.

"On the 24th of July, the Rev. Senior of the Danish missionaries, Mr. Wiedebrœck, came from Tranquebar to fetch us. He joined us in hearty praises to God for all his mercies. After having therefore visited several English gentlemen, we departed on the 28th from Cuddalore. Dear Mr. Kiernander accompanied us as far as the first river, and there took leave of us. On the 30th we arrived at Tranquebar in perfect health, and were most fraternally received by our dear brethren. Now hitherto the Lord hath helped us. To him be glory for ever and ever!

"Our present occupation can be described in a few words. At seven in the morning we begin, and practise Tamul almost the whole forenoon. Three days in every week Mr. Maderup comes to us at ten, and gives us a lesson in Portuguese. From two to three in the afternoon we again read Tamul. Afterwards, every one remains alone till five. From five to six, I and dear brother Huttemann practice speaking Tamul. We have Christopher with us, who affords us wonderful help in that language, because he talks German fluently; and where we make mistakes, he corrects us. The Rev. Mr. Zeglin is holding at this time a preparation for baptism with some heathen, at which we also attend, as we begin already to understand a little. We perceive that God helps us on from day to day. Dear brother

CHAP. I. — 1750.

Poltzenhagen and I live together. We do not, however, provide for our diet, as Mr. Kohlhoff has taken us to his table. In the morning and evening we excite each other by joint prayer and reading the word of God.

"This is the principal intelligence which I can at present impart to your Reverence.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

The providential escape of Swartz and his brethren from shipwreck, though not noticed in the preceding letter, crowned the mercies of their voyage. The vessel in which they sailed was lost in the river soon after their landing at Cuddalore.

Such was the diligence with which Swartz pursued the study of Tamul, that, on the 23rd of November, that is, in less than four months after his arrival in India, he preached his first sermon in Ziegenbalg's Church, called New Jerusalem, from Matthew xi. 25—30. Having pointed out the invitation of Christ to all to come to him for the blessings of heavenly rest and peace, and observed that they could only be obtained in the order here prescribed by the Redeemer, he earnestly exhorted all who were present not to think lightly of this gracious offer; and thus exhibited, in his first address to the Heathen, the very spirit of that gospel which he was com-

CHAP. I. 1750.

missioned to proclaim, and which he continued unceasingly to recommend and to exemplify during his long and honourable career as a missionary in India.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Swartz enters on the Duties of a Missionary—His account of these in a Letter to a Friend—Careful preparation of Candidates for Baptism—Excursions to the Towns and Villages near Tranquebar—Specimens of Swartz's Conversations with the Natives—Letter to Dr. Struensee—Periodical Reports of the Danish Mission—Pious Custom of the Missionaries on proceeding upon a Journey—Visit of Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz to Cuddalore—Pastoral and weekly Conferences with their Brethren there—Return to Tranquebar.

No sooner had Mr. Swartz attained some knowledge of the native language, than he entered vigorously upon the discharge of the various duties of the Mission. Early in the year 1751, he commenced a daily catechetical exercise with the youngest children of the Tamul school, which consisted not merely in questioning them, and receiving their answers, but in explaining the principles of Christianity, in the order prescribed by the catechism, in the simplest manner, and by examples taken from common life, in familiar dialogues with the children. He also catechized the children of the Portuguese school

CHAP. II. — 1751.

CHAP. II.

1751.

alternately with Mr. Poltzenhagen, and preached in Portuguese in rotation with him and Mr. Maderup, another missionary, who had the superintendence of the Portuguese congregation. In addition to these stated occupations, Mr. Swartz held in this year two preparations for baptism with natives, and afterwards baptized many of the candidates. These, with other interesting particulars, are related with great simplicity and piety in his second letter from India, dated Sept. 28, 1751, and addressed to a clergyman at Halle, of which the following is an extract.

"The manifold kindness which you showed me in my university years, induces me to address a letter to you from this country; the more so, as it was you who first gave me a hint that I should, perhaps, be asked to go to India. When I think of this, and of the first distant preparations made by the divine providence, I praise and humbly thank the only wise God. It is also a sweet comfort to my heart, that I am enabled to say, 'It is thou, O my God, who hast conducted me to these parts; I have not run hither of my own accord, but would rather have declined the call, if thy unseen hand had not retained me. O therefore help, and bestow upon me all necessary wisdom, grace, and strength, for this office!'

"My gracious God has already manifested so

many proofs of his paternal love towards me, that I cannot but remember the word of the Lord Jesus, which he spake to upright Nathanael, (John i. 50,) 'Thou shalt see greater things than these.' May the Lord give me grace, that, like Nathanael, I may use the proofs of divine goodness and mercy which I have hitherto experienced, as a solid foundation, strengthening, and confirmation of my faith. If henceforth I do not behold the glory of God, then verily unbelief will be the cause of it. At Nazareth, my Saviour did not many mighty works, because of their unbelief. Now, Lord, grant faith, and *that* lively faith!

" But that you may know this from more special circumstances, and adore the name of the Lord with me, I shall mention some particulars. First, I humbly praise God that, during the year I have been here, he, notwithstanding all my imperfections, hath borne with me with great patience and forbearance, hath been daily nigh unto my soul, and hath kindly refreshed me. If I have not had the same enjoyments daily, the fault was on my own side. Now this goodness, long-suffering, and patience of our Lord, I shall account my salvation, according to St. Peter's exhortation.

" As to external things, God has given me life and health, and has made the climate and the heat supportable; so that, though my breathing

CHAP. II. — 1751.

was sometimes oppressive, yet I have not been induced to complain. Praised be his name also for this gracious help! Whoever always reposes in the good and holy will of God, saves himself much trouble, and makes that supportable which an impatient and unsubdued self-will renders intolerable. May the Lord subdue this self-will more and more by the power of the cross of Christ!

"Concerning the language of this country, I frequently thought during the voyage.

"Behold, at Halle I learned Tamul three months, and I made but little progress. How much time will be required to learn that language, even though it be only so much as to be able to express myself intelligibly! But God has graciously removed this difficulty, which appeared to me so great; for after we had once preached, it became more and more easy.

"Soon after the commencement of the new year, I began a catechetical hour in the Tamul, or Malabar School, with the youngest lambs; and thus I learned to stammer with them. At the same time, I made almost daily excursions, and spoke with Christians and heathens, though, as may be easily conceived, poorly and falteringly. However, God helped me on from day to day.

"After I had thus practised reading and speaking for nine months, I began the first preparation on the 26th of May, 1751, and finished it on the 2nd

of July, when I baptized most of the converts. Each of my brethren was occupied with preparing a small number for holy baptism. When, therefore, ten days afterwards, another party came, I began the second preparation on the 12th of July, and ended it in six weeks. With these souls I hope the Lord has not permitted me to labour in vain. How they now conduct themselves, I cannot say, as the far greater part of them were from the country.

"The increase this year is very pleasing, consisting of four hundred in the Tamul congregation, including a hundred and fifty-nine children, partly of Christian, and partly of converted heathen, parents; though the real blessing does not amount to the whole of that number. God send forth faithful labourers, for the harvest is indeed great! Therefore help us, dear sir, to implore the divine assistance.

"This short account I have given you, in humble praise of our gracious God. To him alone belongeth glory, but to us shame; and if we should even suffer ignominy and disgrace for the sake of Jesus, we are unworthy of so great an honour."

The preparation of candidates for baptism, mentioned in the preceding letter, was frequent

CHAP. II. 1751.

at stated periods in every year. Several of the missionaries were occasionally employed with different parties of natives at the same time, which was the case in the year 1751, in the course of which, twenty of these preparatory lectures and instructions took place. In general, the greater proportion of such labours devolved on the junior missionaries, as soon as they were sufficiently conversant with the native language, both for the purpose of rendering them familiar with this important employment, and of affording to the seniors more leisure for correspondence, and other laborious duties of the mission.

The utmost care was taken during these exercises to ascertain, not only the religious knowledge, but the Christian dispositions of the professed converts. Those who were slow of apprehension, or the sincerity of whose views in embracing Christianity appeared doubtful, were deferred to the next preparation. This occurred with respect to two candidates on one of the occasions just mentioned, of whom one was found to be deficient in knowledge, and the other of too worldly a mind to be admitted into the Christian church. The period of probation for baptism was sometimes extended to several months, that the missionaries might have a better opportunity of observing the moral character of the converts,

and, with respect to those who came from distant places, of obtaining information as to their previous conduct.

Agreeably to the practice of that comparatively early period, when there were seven or eight missionaries at Tranquebar, Mr. Swartz, as he informed his friend in the preceding letter, was accustomed to make excursions almost daily among both the Christians and the unconverted natives, generally in company with one of the elder brethren. Four or five missionaries occasionally went out, attended by one or both of the country priests, and each missionary followed by a catechist or an assistant, and some of the school-boys of the first class. They divided themselves, either singly or in parties of two, among the neighbouring towns and villages, conversing with the natives, endeavouring to convince them of their errors, and to persuade them to embrace the religion of the gospel. Various specimens will be given in these memoirs of the wisdom and ability, as well as the kindness, evinced by Mr. Swartz in such conversations. A few shall here be inserted, which may serve to show his early proficiency in the exercise of a talent peculiarly important to a missionary, and in which he afterwards so eminently excelled.

A Hindoo merchant said to him, "God has created us to the end that we should know and serve him."

CHAP. II. — 1751.

This Swartz confirmed, and then added with regret, that although God had given him and many of his countrymen a knowledge of the end of their creation, yet they remained in idolatry, and thus unhappily never attained it. He then declared the doctrine of Christ, and pointed Him out as the only way to the true and saving knowledge of God.

Another wealthy old merchant, who understood Danish, English, and French, said to him, "Sir, be not displeased; I wish to ask you a question. Do all Europeans speak like you?" Swartz replied, that all Europeans were not true Christians; but that there were many who were really so, and who sincerely prayed for the Hindoos, that they might become acquainted with Jesus Christ. "You astonish me," said he; "for, from what we daily observe, and experience, we cannot but think Europeans, with but few exceptions, to be self-interested, incontinent, proud, full of illiberal contempt and prejudice against us Hindoos, and even against their own religion, especially the higher classes. So at least I have found it with the majority of those with whom I have had any intercourse."

This is a reproach which has been but too justly thrown upon Europeans by the unenlightened natives of India, and has ever formed one of the most powerful obstacles to their conversion

to Christianity. It is, however, a reproach which, though still too frequently deserved, has of late years been considerably removed by the improved character and conduct of our own countrymen; more particularly in stations of influence and authority. May it daily become less merited!

Swartz one day met a Hindoo dancing-master, with his female pupil, and told them, that no unholy persons shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. "Alas, sir!" said the poor girl, "in that case hardly any European will ever enter it;" and passed on.

Having asked a Pandaram, or Hindoo devotee, who carried about an idol, why he did so; "For my support," said he. Swartz reproved him for his baseness, and inquired the name of his idol. He replied by a Tamul word, signifying, "He that removes evil." Upon this, the missionary spoke to him of Jesus, as the only Saviour who took away the sins of the world.

A Hindoo pretended that he and his countrymen worshipped the same God as the Christians did, only under other names. Swartz replied, "The true God must possess divine perfections; such as supreme wisdom, omniscience, omnipotence, holiness, justice. Now, nothing of this is found in your divinities; but, by your own records, ignorance, impurity, cruelty. How can it be said of such that they are gods? You have a proverb, that where sin is, there is no excel-

CHAP. II. 1751.

lence. Now you acknowledge the practices ascribed to your gods to be sinful; consequently, by your own confession, they are unworthy of the name." "That is very true," said the Hindoo; "but if we receive even what is false, and think it to be true in our heart, it is done to us according to our faith." "How can you adopt," answered Swartz, "a sophism, which you yourselves, on other occasions, reject? You are accustomed to say, 'If one write the word sugar, and then lick his finger, it will not on that account become sweet, though he believe it ever so firmly.'"

A native objected, "Show us any one who has embraced your religion, and has been actually saved, and we will believe you." Swartz answered, in the spirit of Abraham's reply in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, "God has given you his word—prove and examine it. Such an evidence as you require is not the appointed way of becoming convinced of the truth; for the devil can transform himself into an angel of light."

Another observed, "I am surprised to hear you say, that if we forsake Paganism, our souls will be happy, and that if we do not, God will punish us. What is the soul? A breath, which, when it has left the body, is blown away with other winds. You may perceive this by our holding the hand to a dying person's mouth, to feel whether there is yet breath. If there be, life is

still in him. Thus breath and the soul are one and the same thing. Who then can say that wind shall be punished? What is God? Can he be seen? He is the universe. I die:—that means nothing more than that my body is resolved into its original elements—water, fire, earth, air. But the existence of such a spirit within me as you speak of, I believe not. Where is it when I sleep, when I see no one, or though one touch me, I do not feel it?" Swartz replied to each point. He reminded the objector of the *operations* of the soul, such as thinking, judging, determining; and asked, whether wind was capable of these? whether he could not by this perceive that he had a soul, which is a real being, endowed with understanding and will, and which is therefore susceptible of sorrow, anxiety, and pain. The doctrine of the resurrection was next explained. This man expressed, without reserve, the doubts which other heathens entertain; from which it appears that the errors of Spinoza are not unknown in India. Indeed they are not new, having been long since noticed and refuted in Eccles. iii. 19—21, and in the book of Wisdom, ii. 1—3.

A heathen said to Swartz, "If I become a Christian, how shall I be maintained?" He replied, "Work and pray." The Gospel of St. Matthew was given to him, and on his first opening it, he lighted on the passage, chap. vi. 31—33.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

CHAP. II. 1751.

"Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, &c. for after all these things do the Gentiles seek; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." This singular coincidence made a deep impression.

A Hindoo inquired whether there were any worldly advantages, such as money or rice to be gained by embracing our religion. Swartz lamented his earthly mind, and informed him that the missionaries were not come to support the idle, but to show to all the way to obtain incorruptible blessings. Another said, "If I become a Christian, I shall be called an apostate, who has crept into another caste." Swartz told him, that heathens and unbelievers belonged to the caste of the devil; but that the family of God, into which those are adopted who believe the gospel, is "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people." The following incidents afford a pleasing proof of the superior moral feeling of the converted Hindoo.

During an artificial scarcity, occasioned by the closing of the magazines of grain, a Christian woman said, "I have a Fanam, but could get no rice to-day; I had no other food therefore than water; but I have spiritual food which has comforted my heart."

A Hindoo came with his wife to be instructed by the missionaries, being induced by the meekness and patience with which his mother, who was a believer, had endured their reproaches. On Mr. Swartz visiting her, she told him that she prayed night and day, and put her trust in God alone; that He provided her with work, and that she was well contented, if she could sometimes only gather a few herbs, as she was then doing, for her support. 1751.

Another poor convert being exhorted not to care anxiously for the body, answered, "He that planted the tree, will he not water it? Whether he gives us life or death, we will not forsake him."

In the year 1752, Mr. Swartz conducted three numerous preparations for baptism, and continued his excursions among the neighbouring villages. No letters from him during this year are recorded in the missionary journals; and in general it may be observed, that he was averse to any extensive correspondence which might divert him from his studies and labours among the natives. From the moment that he rose in the morning, till he retired to rest, he was unremittingly employed. 1752.

In the next year, however, a letter occurs to the Rev. Dr. Struensee, then professor of divinity at Halle, afterwards superintendant-general, 1753.

CHAP. II. — 1751.

that is bishop and metropolitan of the Duchy of Sleswig, and father of the unfortunate Count Struensee, prime minister of Denmark, of which the following is an extract. It is dated Oct. 8, 1753.

"Concerning my poor labours, I usually employ myself in the morning with the school children; and when I am preparing a small party for baptism, that is also done in the forenoon. In the afternoon, Mondays excepted, I commonly go out to the villages, to visit the Christians in their cottages, and to converse with heathens.

"The enclosed annual report will exhibit to you the present external state of the mission. This year Satan, by his raging, endeavoured to excite the fears of the Christians, by which many heathens were no doubt deterred from embracing the gospel. For towards the end of April last, a dissension arose between the papists and heathens in Tanjore, on account of some usages. The Rajah having been informed of it, treated the Roman Catholics with great severity; upon which many of them renounced Christianity, both verbally and in writing. Since that time, the Romish Christians in the Tanjore country have been roughly handled; in which sufferings our Christians have also been made to share in several places, though not so severely as the papists in

Tanjore. May our faithful God arm us with grace, resolution, and strength!

"In July a captain of the Danish navy was sent as an envoy to Tanjore, on which occasion Mr. Wiedebrœck, at the captain's earnest request, accompanied him, and had an opportunity of announcing the gospel of Christ, both in the country and in the residence itself, without hindrance. May God grant a permanent blessing upon it!"

The report alluded to by Mr. Swartz in the preceding letter, was a short account in German, on one quarto sheet printed on the 5th of October in every year at Tranquebar, comprising the number of native Christians belonging to the three congregations constituting the Danish mission, viz. the Portuguese, and the two Tamul for the town and the country, which last, previous to the establishment of the missions of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, was divided into five districts, named after their central places; the district of Mahaburam, that of Tanjore, including the kingdom of Madura, that of Madhewipatnam, comprising the country of Marava, and that of Cumbagonam.[1]

[1] The increase of each congregation, the missionaries, catechists, and assistants, the number of schools, schoolmasters, mistresses, and children, the printing press and its productions, the country priests and native teachers, with various other particulars,

CHAP. II. — 1754.

It may here be proper to observe, that the brethren at Tranquebar, having soon discovered the extraordinary talents of Swartz, gave him the superintendence of all the Christian schools and churches south of the river Caveri.

At this period, whenever the missionaries proceeded on a journey, or returned from one, when they arrived at another missionary station, or departed from it, their first and last employment was to bend their knees in prayer to Almighty God with all their brethren. In this apostolical manner Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz, on the 18th of February 1754, set out on foot on a visit to Cuddalore. Two other missionaries accompanied them a few miles on their way, and united with them in prayer at parting. They supped and slept at the house of a Hindoo merchant, who civilly received their exhortations to himself and his family.

The persecution of Christians in Tanjore still continuing, these pious men encouraged themselves by reading in Hebrew, according to their general custom of studying the Holy Scriptures in the original languages, the 74th psalm. After their morning devotions, first with each

were also inserted in this statement. On the same day the missionaries wrote their annual reports to the king of Denmark, and to each branch of the royal family, which were transmitted directly to those illustrious personages.

other, and then with their servants and coolies, they proceeded on their journey, and delivered a lecture on the atonement at a place where several Christians were assembled, with a concluding address to the surrounding heathen. On the next day, they represented to the Brahmins and others, in front of a pagoda at Sembankudi, the absurdity and fatal consequences of idolatry, and in the evening reached Tirucottah, where they lodged at the commanding officer's, who was very kind to them, and accommodated them with a boat to carry them down the river and across the Coleroon, and afterwards a catamaran over another river, which saved them from passing through a desert and swampy forest. The boatmen refused to hear anything of Christianity; but stopping for refreshment in a wood, several Hindoos, and Mahomedans, and a Roman Catholic native, came round them, to whom they announced the only true God, and Jesus the only Mediator and Redeemer. A robber, one of whose feet had been struck off by the headman of Chillumbrum, begged a plaister, which the missionaries gave him, with a direction to the only Physician of the soul for the healing of his spiritual wounds. The Romish Christian made himself known in private, but was admonished of the duty of openly confessing Christ before men; and when he urged the difficulty of doing this in India, he was reminded of our Lord's

CHAP. II. 1754.

words, Matthew x. 32, 33. On their way many were exhorted, and tracts were distributed. One man said, "We follow our rulers." "Then," replied the missionaries, "follow God. He is the Supreme Ruler of us all."

At the Portonovo river, they were met by Mr. Hutteman, and by Mr. Vaneck, the Dutch superior, who took them to his house. On the 23rd, they travelled the whole way to Cuddalore along the sea shore. A merchant of high rank in his caste, but reduced in circumstances, followed them from Porto Novo, and offered to become a Christian; but his views appearing to be interested, he was admonished to be sincere. At noon they addressed some Hindoos at a choultry, particularly some Byragees, a caste of professed and importunate beggars, and pointed out to some fishermen, how they were entangled in the net of Satan, and by whom they might be rescued. Towards evening, Mr. Kiernander met them near Chetty-Cupam. Having strengthened each other in the Lord at the choultry, they proceeded up the river in a boat, and arrived safely at the mission house at Cuddalore. There they united in prayer to Almighty God, their reconciled Father in Christ, laid their own wants and the general distress, humbly yet confidently before him, and implored a blessing upon themselves, their brethren, and their work. They then visited the sick Portu-

guese schoolmaster, and conversed with the catechists, and several members of the congregation. A number of Christians having come from the country for the succeeding day's service, Mr. Kohlhoff explained to them the Lord's Prayer, and Mr. Swartz the form of general confession, by way of question and answer. They closed this busy day by visiting the school, and some of the mission servants.

On the 24th, being Quinquagesima Sunday, Mr. Swartz preached in the morning in Tamul, on Luke xviii. 31, on the necessity of Christ's sufferings, and Mr. Kohlhoff in the afternoon in Portuguese, during which service, the morning sermon was repeated in the Tamul school.

The next day they conversed with the native Christians who were returning into the country; and exhorted them to "keep the word of God" which they had heard, and to walk worthy of it. They again visited the sick schoolmaster, and reminded him how necessary it was to be well assured of one's state, in order to be peaceful in death.

It had been usual from the commencement of the mission at Tranquebar, for the missionaries to hold, on Tuesday in every week, a pastoral conference on some passage of Scripture for mutual edification and encouragement. This pious custom, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz did

CHAP. II. — 1754.

no omit during their present excursion, but from ten to twelve on the 26th, held what they called a colloquium biblicum with their brethren at Cuddalore, on Acts x. 36, 37; taking occasion, from that animating passage, to exhort each other to courage and perseverance in the great work of "preaching peace" to the Gentiles by Jesus Christ. In the afternoon, they visited by water two villages of fishermen, situated to the east of Cuddalore, between the river and the sea, and observing that the hours struck at the mission church were distinctly heard on their island, they represented to them the duty of listening to the word of salvation, which the goodness of God had thus brought so near to them.

The next day, the two missionaries, accompanied by their brethren of Cuddalore, proceeded to a small neighbouring town, and sitting down in a choultry, conversed with the natives who collected round them, on the acknowledged earthly origin, and base and unworthy character of their pretended divinities, and urged the unprofitable nature of their idolatry, and the peace, purity, and immortal hope resulting from the faith of the gospel. Several succeeding days were thus occupied either in exhortations to the heathen, or to the native Christians, the catechists, the school-children, and their teachers.

Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz having, at the re-

quest of their brethren, consented to remain two days longer at Cuddalore, assisted at their Friday weekly conference, the object of which was thus stated by the founder of the mission, Ziegenbalg.

"The weekly conference which we hold every Friday with all the labourers, is of the greatest utility in keeping the mission work in order. For on that day in the forenoon, we pray to God for wisdom and counsel, and each relates how he has been employed, or what has occurred in the congregations and schools, and in the printing and bookbinding offices, and in the private houses. Here every thing which might occasion disorder or detriment is adjusted, and those means are adopted which may best promote the general good. The conference being ended, the Portuguese and Tamul assistants make a report of their labours, and of whatever may be wanting, that as far as possible it may be supplied."

This useful practice was regularly observed during nearly the first century of the mission, when, for some reasons which do not appear, it was discontinued.

After the conference thus referred to, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz went down the river to a Tirkera, or Moorish hermitage, where, amongst others, they addressed a Fakir, or Mahomedan mendicant, to whom the nabob had given the

CHAP. II. 1754.

place and the surrounding grounds. He acknowledged that he had three wives and four-and-twenty children, and that he was much addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs. With this man they urged the base and licentious character of Mahomedanism, and the superiority of Christian principles; he admitted the truth of their representations, and promised to visit them at Cuddalore.

On the 5th of March the four missionaries again held a biblical conference on Acts x. 38, in which they encouraged each other humbly and earnestly to implore the communication of the Holy Spirit, that in the power of that divine grace they might, after the example of their heavenly Master, "go about doing good." Swartz concluded with an impressive prayer, that the Lord would vouchsafe to them a permanent blessing from that hour; that according to his promise he would fill them, their brethren, and all their fellow-labourers, with his Spirit, for the sake of the great Mediator and Saviour; that he would preserve them from venturing on any service relying on their own strength, but that they might go forth in his power, that thus labouring, they might never want all necessary light, strength, and blessing.

Early the next day, the four missionaries again united in thanksgiving and prayer; and in the

strength of their Redeemer, entered into a covenant to be his, to serve him with all their heart, and thenceforward with renewed energy to preach the gospel to the poor Gentiles around them. "Now," said Swartz, "the Lord has heard what we have spoken before him. May he give us light, life, strength, and prosperity!" The Cuddalore brethren accompanied Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz a few miles, and then separated after a cordial farewell, and wishing them abundant grace and blessing.

On their return to Tranquebar they had frequent opportunities of scattering the good seed of the word of God among Peons in the Dutch service, and Hindoos and Mahomedans from the neighbouring towns. Most of these were fishermen, of which class of natives, though there are many Roman Catholics in the south of the peninsula, few have ever been converted by the Protestants. The two missionaries, sometimes in brief, and at others in longer addresses, declared the nature of the true God, and the vanity of idols, the misery of sin, the inefficiency of Pagan ceremonies, and particularly of bathing in the sea, to which many whom they met were resorting, and the only effectual atonement of the cross. To those who made inquiries or urged objections, they gave suitable and often satisfactory replies, and received promises of farther attention to their

CHAP. II. 1754.

instructions. To some Romish Christians they pointed out the errors of image-worship and of purgatory, and exhorted them to repentance, faith, and true godliness; and finding at one place at which they rested some Protestant converts, they preached to them, inquired as to their domestic devotions, and reproved the negligent.

On the 9th they were met by one of their Tranquebar brethren, and on approaching the mission house, the Tamul school children welcomed them by singing a metrical version of Ecclesiasticus, l. 22—24, "Now let us praise the Lord," which is in universal use among Protestants on the continent. The missionaries blessed the children, and shortly afterwards their remaining brethren met them, and united with them and with several officers of the Danish troops at Tranquebar, in the following prayer and thanksgiving, offered up by Mr. Swartz.

"Praised be thy name, O Lord, in profound humility, for all the grace, protection, and blessing which, during the whole of our journey thou hast graciously bestowed upon us of thine undeserved mercy, for the sake of Christ our Mediator! May the seed of thy word, which we thy poor servants have sowed on our journey, spring up and produce abundant fruit, that we, and those who have received the word into their hearts, may praise and adore thy goodness to all

eternity! May the union with our brethren at Cuddalore, which has been renewed afresh in thy sacred presence, be productive of abundant blessing! Our supplications, which we have jointly brought before thy footstool, with regard to ourselves and the flock entrusted to us, vouchsafe graciously to hear, and to let us perceive it, for the strengthening of our faith. And thus begin anew to bless us, and to prosper the work of our hands. Yea, prosper thou our handy-work, O Lord, for the sake of Christ, and of his bitter sufferings and death! Amen."

CHAPTER III.

War in the Carnatic between the French and English.—Mr. Swartz continues his usual labours and excursions.—Letter to Professor Francke.—Expedition of Mr. Poltzenhagen to the Nicobar Islands.—His death.—Letter of Swartz to a friend in Europe.—Visit of Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz to Negapatam.—Conversations with the natives.—Favourable results of the journey.—Second visit to Negapatam.—Swartz's address to the native catechists.—Capture of Fort St. David and Cuddalore by the French.—Kindness of Count Lally to the missionaries.—They retreat to Tranquebar.—Mr. Kiernander removes to Calcutta.—Mr. Hutteman returns to Cuddalore.—Death of one of the first five converts of Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar.—The French army approaches Madras.—Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt protected by Count Lally.—They leave Vepery, and retire to Pulicat.—An English fleet relieves Madras.—The French army retreats, and the missionaries return to Vepery.

CHAP. III. — 1754.

Hostilities were now raging in the Carnatic between the French and English, who were contending for the superiority in India, in which several of the native princes were involved. The interior of the country was in consequence much disturbed, particularly by the incursions of the Mahrattas, who supported the French interest. The ravages of these predatory troops spread de-

solation and alarm wherever they appeared, and the poor native Christians participated in the general distress; but though the operations of the missionaries were occasionally impeded, and eventually those who were stationed at Madras and Cuddalore suffered considerably, Mr. Swartz continued his usual labours and excursions.

On the 8th of July he accompanied Mr. Fabricius, who had been for some time at Tranquebar, a few miles on his return to Madras, and on leaving him he directed his course into the interior, to visit several places inhabited by some Christian families. He was attended by the assistant, Martin, and while instructing the native converts, he took the opportunity of allaying the prejudices and fears of some of their unconverted neighbours, as to the education of the Hindoo children by the missionaries, and of convincing them that they could only be desirous of promoting their happiness.

In this year a captain in the Danish navy arrived as governor of Tranquebar, and shortly afterwards gave a pleasing proof of his sincere regard for religion, by redeeming a poor child whom her mother, while a heathen, had sold as a dancing girl to a neighbouring pagoda, but who having subsequently embraced Christianity, was anxious to rescue her from that wretched slavery. The Danish governor paid

CHAP. III. 1754. much more than had been given for the child, sent her to the mission school, and defrayed the expenses of her education. She was afterwards baptized, and in process of time married to a respectable native Christian.

1755. On the 10th of October 1755, Swartz wrote to professor Francke as follows.

"Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of all true consolation, salvation and life, who mercifully and gloriously helpeth us in all trouble! He is a God that delighteth in our life, a God that humbleth that he may exalt us, that maketh us to feel our wretchedness that he may thoroughly save us from it. My soul, magnify the Lord!

"The distress of the Christian congregation, and the insensibility of the heathen to the word of God, often grievously afflict my soul, which is not yet experienced in the ways of truth. However, I strive as well as I am enabled by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, to cast this burden upon him that is mighty to help, and delights to bow down to us in mercy, that we may not remain and sink in trouble. The words of Christ from Isaiah xlix. 4. often occur to my mind. 'Then I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and in vain; yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my

God.' But indeed, the following verse ought to allay all grief, and to bind the sorrowful heart to the word of the divine promise. The unwearied patience and mercy of God in working upon my own soul also greatly comforts me, when he saith within me, 'Tell it once more—go, announce it both to Christians and heathens; for thou thyself also wert sometime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures; and yet in that most corrupt condition deserving wrath and death, a merciful God hath wrought in thee for Christ's sake, and waited for thy conversion, not a few, but many years—now learn thou also to wait patiently in hope. Now, my heart, mind, thoughts, desires, designs, and all my will be altogether offered up to the will of my heavenly father. Not my will, but thine be done! Yet, let thy kingdom come, in India also, to myself and to others!'

"As to outward circumstances, a gracious God hath paternally preserved me, and amidst bodily weakness mightily supported me. Let my God only give me that which Paul was enabled cheerfully to say, 2 Cor. v. 1, 'We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens!'

"I shall waive a particular account of the circumstances and concerns of the mission, since the

CHAP. III. 1755. most important points are contained in our common letter. I only mention my heartfelt joy on account of the wonderfully kind providence of God, that he blessed us on the 1st of July last with a new fellow labourer and brother, Mr. Peter Dame, in whom the mind of Christ is so pleasingly conspicuous. As we little expected this, it hath caused us the greater joy. In the Christmas holidays he will, by the divine blessing, deliver a testimony to Christ before the congregation. Now, may a gracious God grant that he may prove abundantly successful.

"C. F. SWARTZ."

1756. It is observable, that the reports and joint letters of the 31st of December 1755, and 30th of June 1756, were signed by eight missionaries, the largest number ever residing at one time at Tranquebar.

In September, however, 1756, Mr. Poltzenhagen, at the request of the Danish government, accompanied the new colonists to the Nicobar Islands, both to act as their chaplain, and to promote the civilization and conversion of the natives. He collected much information, and began to converse in the language of the Islands, when a short illness terminated his valuable life on the 28th of November following, in the flower of his age. His labours in the Portuguese congrega-

tion and school at Tranquebar fell to the share of Mr. Swartz, till Mr. Dame was qualified to undertake them, and in the mean time Swartz continued to officiate in Tamul.

The French, in consequence of the success of some of their military enterprises in this and the two following years, were now indulging the hope of becoming masters of the greater part of India. This encouraged the Roman Catholic priests to reproach and threaten the native Protestant converts, and even stimulated them to some acts of open violence. In addition to this source of uneasiness, a dispute between the Danish government and the Rajah of Tanjore, led to an incursion into the Danish territory, in which the poor Christians suffered depredation, and the mission church at Poreiar' was considerably injured. These adverse circumstances did not, however, prevent the missionaries from celebrating the 9th of July 1756 as a jubilee, that being the anniversary of the day, on which, fifty years before, the first Protestant preachers landed on the shores of India.

The missionaries mention in their journal of this year, a remarkable acknowledgment of the principal minister of the Rajah of Tanjore, that there is but one true God, and that the images of their idols ought to be broken and thrown into the sea; and that such was the ty-

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARA

CHAP. III. 1756.

ranny and injustice of the government, that many of the natives wished the English to take possession of the country. The Brahmins, however, not knowing the cautious policy, or rather the indifference of most Europeans, feared that they would favour the introduction of Christianity, and therefore dreaded their influence.

The missionaries also relate that the Rajah having been informed of a considerable subterranean treasure, which was guarded by demons, who would not permit it to be removed without the sacrifice of five hundred human beings, had dispersed fifty kidnappers through the country, who, by throwing a magical powder upon their victims, pretended to deprive them of their-senses, and thus obtain possession of them. This so much alarmed the superstitious Hindoos, that scarcely any but Christians ventured for some time to travel from one place to another.

They add the more interesting fact, that three Mahomedans were in the course of this year baptized at Vepery, and formed the first fruits of the conversion to Protestant Christianity, of that class of the natives on the coast of Coromandel.

1757. The Tranquebar journal of 1757, notices a visit of Mr. Kohlhoff to Seringham, at the request of a sick German officer, in the French service. While there, he had several opportunities of addressing the Brahmins within the great pagoda,

as well as at Trichinopoly, then garrisoned by the English. He mentions having observed at the latter place the simple method adopted by the natives to convey immense stones to the top of the highest buildings without machinery; namely, by throwing up a sloping mound of earth against the building, and forcing the stone up the inclined plane. From Trichinopoly Mr. Kohlhoff proceeded to Tanjore, where he preached both to European and native Christians, and was invited to a conference with one of the rajah's ministers, to whom he declared the truths of the Gospel.

Towards the close of this year a letter occurs from Mr. Swartz to a friend in Europe, of which the following is an interesting extract.

"In my ministerial functions, no variation has taken place, except that I have been upwards of nine months in the late Mr. Poltzenhagen's house, and have had the instruction of the Portuguese school and congregation. The Lord lay his blessing on it! This is certain, and I learn it daily, that neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase. He who altogether despairing of himself and his own strength, goes out in all humility with prayer and supplication, seeks that which is lost, and then waits for the former and the latter rain from the Lord, he receiveth blessing of

CHAP. III. 1757. God, and is preserved from much disquietude. And although the blessing is not instantly visible, yet God awakeneth the heart, and enableth us to say, 'At thy word I will let down the net. And when they had this done, they enclosed a great multitude of fishes.' This text I remember frequently, especially as it is that on which I preached my first sermon at the University; and by means of which God has produced in me poverty of spirit, and at the same time a filial reliance on his word. May he teach it me more and more, and inculcate it by his Spirit! It was only yesterday, as Mr. Dame and I were observing the obstinacy of the poor pagans, we spoke on this subject, and excited each other to look off from ourselves to God."

1758. Early in 1758, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz set out on a visit to Negapatam, which is about twenty miles south of Tranquebar. They proceeded by a circuitous route through the country, in order that they might have more frequent opportunities of addressing both Christians and unbelievers. In the evening they repeated to some native Christians at the village where they rested, the sermon which had been preached that morning at the mission church, on the gospel for the day; and very early the next morning they explained to them the Lord's Prayer, addressing at

the same time some suitable instruction and admonition to several Roman Catholics and heathens who were present. At their next station they lectured on the Creed; and here it may be observed, that their converts being universally taught to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the words of the institution of both the sacraments—a lecture on any of these subjects peculiarly fixes their attention. At another choultry in which the missionaries found a party of Mahomedans, who readily acknowledged Jesus to be a prophet, they discoursed on his importance as a Mediator, and on the inestimable work of redemption; and drawing a parallel between Christ and Mahomet, they proved the infinite superiority of the former, and urged the duty of an exclusive faith in him.

At three o'clock on the following morning the assistant who accompanied them collected a small party of Christians, whom the missionaries instructed in the scriptural method of salvation, and with whom, as was their constant custom, they prayed. In this manner they pursued their journey.

On the way, seeing a number of natives passing them hastily, and inquiring the cause, they were told that a Brahmin had drowned himself under the pressure of pain; upon which they took occasion to point out the wretched condition of their guides, and exhorted them to seek the

CHAP. III. 1758.

grace and peace of God in their hearts, which would enable them patiently to endure calamities. Some of them insinuated that God had predestinated the Brahmin to his miserable end; but the missionaries testified, that God was not the author of evil, but was a lover of our temporal and eternal happiness.

On their arrival at Negapatam, they paid their respects to the Dutch governor, and were hospitably received by one of the gentlemen of that settlement. During the week that they continued there, the missionaries were incessantly engaged in various religious services with the native and European Christians.

They preached in Tamul and Portuguese, and more than once in their own language, to about two hundred Germans of different ranks, who were earnestly desirous of Christian instruction. They visited the Lazaretto, where a number of lepers were supported at the expense of the Dutch East India Company, and gave those unhappy persons a suitable exhortation. On their return they had various conversations with natives, one of whom observed with great simplicity, "We have books wherein the solar and lunar eclipses are accurately calculated, and according to those calculations the events happen. Now," said he, "as these prove true, so we believe that other points contained in these books, which

concern the divine laws and heavenly things, are true also." The missionaries replied by explaining the difference between physical and religious truths, and pointed out the fallacy of arguing from the results of natural science, to the knowledge which can only be derived from divine revelation. It need scarcely be added, that on many occasions they had to lament the inefficacy of their instructions, but on others they met with willing and attentive hearers; and in general the missionaries observed that their reception was more favourable in places under Dutch authority than elsewhere, the official servants of that government being free from the prejudice commonly entertained against natives professing Christianity, and often even employing them in preference to others.

In the course of their visit to Negapatam, Messrs. Kohlhoff and Swartz reminded their European friends, that it was their duty to promote the kingdom of Christ; and that the higher the station in which God had placed them, the more responsible they would be, if they neglected to acquit themselves of the obligations incumbent on Christian rulers, to be nursing fathers of the church. The governor assured them of his readiness to favour the advancement of Christianity; and in proof of it, promised that as soon as their chaplain returned, he would begin to

CHAP. III. — 1758.

build a church for the use of the native Christians—a promise which in less than a year afterwards, was faithfully fulfilled, when a building for this purpose was dedicated in the presence of two of the Tranquebar missionaries.

Not long afterwards, Mr. Swartz made another excursion into the interior of the country, accompanied by one of the native assistants, during which, several Hindoos of high caste listened to him with great attention, and said on parting from him, "You are an universal priest;" intimating, that he was worthy not only of being the religious instructor of Europeans, but of themselves also. While on this short tour, he experienced from many of the natives marked respect and kindness, one of them, in a place where he could purchase nothing, voluntarily bringing hot water and milk for his tea, and providing him and his attendants with a supper.

The good effects of his and Mr. Kohlhoff's visit to Negapatam, were soon so apparent in the awakening of a concern for religion in the minds of many of the German Protestants, that at their urgent request, after much deliberation and prayer, Swartz, accompanied by Mr. Klein, another of his brethren, made a second journey to that station in the month of April following. They were met by the two native catechists, and

by several European gentlemen, and conducted to Negapatam. There they spent another week, preaching on the most important and impressive subjects, chiefly in German, but two or three times also in Portuguese and Tamul, to the native converts. They administered the sacrament, distributed books and tracts of piety and devotion, and departed, rejoicing at the evident proofs afforded by many of every class, of their cordial reception of the word of God. At the close of their farewell discourses, the Europeans presented the missionaries with a collection for the poor at Tranquebar, amounting to upwards of thirty two pagodas, great part of which was contributed by the Dutch soldiers.

It had been customary since the year 1741, after the arrival of Messrs. Kohlhoff, Fabricius, and Zegler, when the country catechists and the teachers in and near Tranquebar assembled once a month to read the report of their proceedings, for one of the missionaries to give an exhortation on some text of Scripture, to stir them up to the faithful discharge of their important duties. Lectures in divinity were also given to the most able and intelligent among them, and an admonition to the poor on distributing the monthly alms. On his return from Negapatam, Mr. Swartz addressed the catechists who had brought their reports, from 1 Cor. xv. 10, "By the grace of God I am what I am,"

CHAP. III. — 1758.

from which striking example of the apostle, he represented to them humility as an essential and most important quality in every Christian teacher, leading him to entertain the lowliest thoughts of himself, and at the same time to value and depend on the grace of God in Christ Jesus, above all things.

This was a critical year to the British power in India, and to the missions at Cuddalore and Madras. During the night of the 28th of April, the French landed a body of troops near Fort St. David, which, being joined by others from Pondicherry, ravaged and plundered the neighbouring towns and villages in a most cruel manner. Many of the Roman Catholic Christians fled to their adjacent church near the governor's garden-house, where they trusted that, as brethren in the faith with the French, they should be safe. Some one, however, among the invading party, having reported that these were the English Protestant missionaries, and that it was their church, the poor Roman Catholics who had taken refuge in it were inhumanly massacred, and the church rased to the foundation. In the mean time, the Protestant missionaries were by the good providence of God, safe within the walls of Cuddalore. It was remarkable, however, that a person at Tranquebar, who was known to be connected with the French, when the news of their attack reached that place, expressed his conviction, that Messrs.

Kiernander and Hutteman had been put to death. CHAP. III.

1758.

On the 1st of May, the French troops approached Cuddalore, and the walls being very low and weak, it was apprehended that at the rising of the moon at midnight, they would storm the town. The alarm of the native inhabitants was in consequence extreme; and they came by hundreds to the missionaries, with their most valuable effects, with which they filled the mission houses. They were, however, spared the horrors of an assault, and early the next morning a French officer brought a summons to the garrison to surrender the place on capitulation. The English commander of the Fort soon afterwards kindly sent a note to the missionaries, advising them to accompany his messenger to the enemy's camp, in order to request the French general to take them under his protection. This advice they thankfully adopted, and followed the flag of truce by a circuitous route through the country, which had been laid waste in every direction by the French cavalry. At length they reached the choultry where the commander-in-chief, the unfortunate Count Lally,[1] had fixed his head-quarters. He immediately assured them that they had nothing to fear, and that he would afford

[1] See Orme's History, vol. ii.; and Mill's British India, vol. iii.

CHAP. III. 1758.

them every protection. His own regiment being nearly all Irish, the officers spoke English, and Colonel Kennedy accompanied the missionaries some distance on their return.

Cuddalore being quite unequal to a defence against so considerable a force, and being entirely open towards the river, the governor of Fort St. David agreed to the proposed capitulation, and the town was in consequence delivered up to the French. The captain of the grenadier company of the regiment Lorraine, which had taken possession of the Porto Novo gate, received orders from his general to send a guard to the missionaries to protect their houses, and they expressed their gratitude by affording refreshments both to the officers and soldiers. They discovered also, that the German captain, Baron Heidemann, whom Mr. Kohlhoff had visited at Seringham, had given orders to his hussars to protect them.[1]

As soon as the capitulation was signed, the missionaries sent a messenger to their brethren at Tranquebar, informing them of their melancholy situation, and requesting some country boats for transporting the mission property, as it was supposed that all the inhabitants would be required to take an oath of fidelity to the French

[1] This pious officer, about two years afterwards, quitted the French service, and retired to the mission at Vepery, where he died in 1761.

CHAP. III. — 1758.

government, and it was no longer expedient to remain at their present station. The next day the English garrison marched out of Cuddalore, and some French officers took up their quarters at the mission houses. In the course of the day, Count Lally himself visited the missionaries and conversed with them in English, inquiring what countrymen they were, whether Lutherans or Calvinists, wherein their functions consisted, and how far they had succeeded in making converts. He kindly gave them passports, and granted two country boats, which had arrived from Porto Novo with provisions for the French troops, to transport their goods. With much difficulty they contrived, amidst the confusion around them, tog et their property on board. The missionaries then assembled their little Christian flock, and kneeling down, commended them to the Lord, praying that he would guide and protect them.

Many Christians and other natives, with their families, were allowed to accompany the missionaries on leaving Cuddalore. In the evening they arrived at Porto Novo, where they were cordially received by the Dutch resident; and at noon the next day at Devi-Cottah, where the English gave them a most hospitable welcome. On the 8th they reached Tranquebar, where houses were assigned to them by their kind brethren: the native Christians were lodged for the present in the

CHAP. III. 1758.

paper mill at Poreiar, and the Cuddalore children were received into the Tamul school. The two missionaries insisting on taking a share in the labours at Tranquebar, Mr. Kiernander assisted in the Portuguese, and Mr. Hutteman in the Malabar congregations.

The early departure of the missionaries and their converts from Cuddalore, appears to have been highly providential; several Jesuits from Pondicherry, with a party of their followers, having arrived the next day, and on finding they had escaped, expressed their disappointment, as well as great displeasure against Count Lally for having granted them a safe dismissal.

Most of the native converts having left Cuddalore, some having retired to Tranquebar, and others to Madras, Mr. Kiernander perceived no immediate prospect of being able to return to his former station, and in consequence felt it to be his duty to engage in some new sphere of labour. After mature reflexion and consultation with his brethren, it was resolved that he should endeavour to establish a mission in Bengal. For this purpose he proceeded to Calcutta in September, 1758; and notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, he laboured there for some years with exemplary piety and diligence, and with considerable success. Mr. Hutteman remained at Tranquebar till September 1760, when he returned and re-

sumed his labours at Cuddalore, which had been retaken by the British army. There, among other instances of the divine blessing upon his ministry, he was the instrument of converting a Pandaram of the highest caste, and of great respectability and learning, in Tanjore. The account of this distinguished convert, written by himself, together with the remonstrance of his brethren of the college of Pandarams of which he had been a member, and his energetic and truly Christian reply, are contained in the reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for the year 1765. By one of the biographers of Swartz, this conversion has been erroneously attributed to him, instead of his excellent friend Mr. Hutteman, to whom, under God, this honour is due.

Notwithstanding the disturbed and critical state of the surrounding country, the missionaries at Tranquebar, which, as belonging to a neutral state, had suffered none of the calamities of war, celebrated, as they were accustomed on the 31st of October, the anniversary of the German Reformation, by singing hymns of praise to its divine Author.

On the 21st of November in this year, died at Tranquebar, an aged woman, who was one of the first five converts to Christianity by Ziegenbalg and Plutscho, having been baptized on the 12th of May 1707. She was born and educated a Ma-

CHAP. III. — 1758.

homedan, and was already of adult age when she became a Christian. Her life had been irreproachable, and she had regularly attended the public services of the mission. At her funeral, which was numerously attended, a short address appropriate to the interesting occasion, was delivered in the old mission church.

The French army approached Madras in November, availing itself of the monsoon, during which the English fleet could not remain on that station. The missionaries at Vepery, Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt, observed, in consequence, a day of penitence and prayer; humbly deprecating the approaching visitation, and imploring the divine protection in behalf of the English government, and the army, the country, and the mission. It was remarkable and impressive, that even the youngest children in their schools, contrary to their usual custom, joined in the amen at the conclusion of their prayer.

On the 6th of December, the French began to invest Madras, to the disappointment of numbers who had intended to retire, among whom were the missionaries, who had made every preparation for transporting themselves and their property to Pulicat. The French army being unprovided with artillery, no one anticipated so sudden an approach; but the roads both to the south and the north being occupied by the enemy,

and the missionaries being unwilling to retreat into the Fort or White Town, with their numerous families, aged persons, women and children, they had no other resource than, in the event of the English army retiring into the city, to endeavour to obtain the protection of the French general, Count Lally, as Mr. Fabricius had done in the year 1746, on the capture of Madras by M. Labourdonnais. They felt, however, that it would not become them to seek such protection from the French general before he had rendered himself master of the country. On the 12th the French army advanced, and after firing a few rounds the English retreated into the fort. Scarcely had this movement taken place, when the Mahomedan irregular cavalry of the French army galloped over the plains; and listening to no representations of the missionaries, forced their way into their houses, and robbed and plundered them of every thing. At length they approached the church, in which great numbers of men, women, and children, had taken refuge. Here they compelled the native men to give up their clothes and turbans, and the women their necklaces and earrings. "Our gracious God, however," observe the missionaries, "without whose permission not a hair falls from our heads, mercifully preserved his servants, so that their persons were not touched, and, with the exception of being plundered,

CHAP. III. — 1759.

no one sustained the slightest injury." The native Christians fled across the river into Madras, to which Mr. Breithaupt and his family also escaped, while Mr. Fabricius, escorted by a friendly Roman Catholic trooper whom he met among the plunderers, proceeded to the French camp.

It was late in the evening before Mr. Fabricius could obtain from Count Lally the desired protection. The French officers expressed their regret that he had not sooner applied for it, adding, that on such occasions, it was not in their power to restrain the excesses of the Mahomedan troops. The missionaries, however, humbly resigning themselves to the will of God, felt comparatively little for their own losses, but deeply lamented that the property of many persons, particularly that of some widows and orphans, which had been entrusted to their care, should have been thus plundered—a circumstance which led them afterwards to be cautious in becoming such depositories, except in behalf of each other.

As soon as Mr. Fabricius had obtained a soldier to protect him, he returned to Vepery, where he found every thing in the utmost confusion; most of the mission furniture, their provisions, books, clothes, and utensils, had disappeared. Their manuscripts and correspondence, though scattered in every direction, were happily preserved; and some of their more useful books were afterwards

discovered. Some benevolent friends at Fort St. George kindly sent Messrs. Fabricius and Breithaupt a present of money, linen, and clothing; and thus the providence of God watched over them and supplied their wants. CHAP. III. 1759.

Very early on the 14th of December, the French army defiled past the mission-house towards the northern suburb of Madras, compelling two youths of the Christian congregation to accompany them as guides. A strong detachment from the fort here attacked the French, but the English were repulsed with considerable loss. The French plundered the Black Town, and commenced the siege of Fort St. George. To avoid the difficulties and dangers attending such a scene, the missionaries, about Christmas, together with many of their converts, left Madras, and proceeded to Pulicat, where they were hospitably received by the Dutch authorities. In the mean time, Count Lally urged the siege of Madras with the feeble means which he possessed, and about the middle of February 1759, a breach having been made in the walls, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Governor Pigot and the English commander, the veteran Major Lawrence, preparations were making for the assault; when, on the 16th, the very day which had been fixed for the purpose, an English fleet unexpectedly arrived off Madras, and in two hours the French officer commanding

CHAP. III. 1759.

in the trenches received orders to abandon the siege. The next day the French army retreated from Madras, and in the course of a few weeks, the missionaries returned to their peaceful and beneficent labours. The victory of Colonel Coote at Wandewas, and the subsequent capture of Pondicherry, defeated the last hopes of the French in that quarter, and established the British ascendancy in the Carnatic.

CHAPTER IV.

Tranquillity of the Danish missionaries during the late hostilities in the Carnatic.—Visit of Mr. Swartz to Ceylon.—His various ministerial labours and his illness in that island.—His faithful admonition to a sceptic.—His reflections on this visit.—Journey with Mr. Kohlhoff to Cuddalore and Madras.—His religious views and feelings in a letter to a friend.

CHAP. IV. — 1759.

While the operations of the missionaries at Cuddalore and Madras had been thus painfully interrupted and suspended by the hostilities between the French and English, Mr. Swartz and his colleagues at Tranquebar were pursuing their accustomed labours in comparative tranquillity, and affording, as we have seen, hospitality and comfort to many of their Christian brethren, both native and European.

From an early period of the Danish mission, 1760.
some correspondence had been carried on with the Dutch ministers in Ceylon, whom the missionaries at Tranquebar had occasionally supplied with copies of the holy Scriptures in Tamul, that language being spoken in the north of the island.

CHAP. IV. — 1760.

Early in the year 1760, some Christians at Colombo and Jaffnapatnam having expressed an earnest desire for a visit from some of the Danish missionaries, for the purpose of spiritual instruction and edification, Mr. Swartz determined to comply with their request, and on the 25th of April proceeded on his journey accompanied by two of his brethren. The first evening they reached the fortress of Karikal, where they passed the night, being received in the most friendly manner by the English commandant. On the road they met several natives, to whom Swartz represented the majesty of the supreme Being, his glorious works, and his numberless mercies, and exhorted them faithfully to acknowledge and reverentially to worship him, the only true God. They approved of what he said, and two of them accompanied him as far as Neur, with whom he had much conversation. Near this place he was met by a very pious Christian, whose conversation greatly refreshed him. At noon he reached Negapatam, and in the evening waited on the governor, Baron D'Eck, from whom he learned that the sloop in which he was to proceed to Jaffnapatnam, was ready to sail. During the voyage, on the 28th, being within sight of the port, a water spout rose so close to the vessel, that all on board were under the most painful apprehensions; but on the guns being fired, it soon dispersed.

On landing on the island of Ceylon, Mr. Swartz was kindly received by the Dutch resident; and on the 30th of April he arrived at Jaffnapatnam, where Captain de Dohren invited him to be his guest. The two Dutch ministers, then residing there, were native Tamuls. After addressing the company's interpreter in the presence of many who were assembled, on the characteristics of a true Christian, he explained in the evening to the two Dutch ministers, in their native language, the great design of missions, the duties of missionaries, their behaviour towards the heathen, and the best method of conducting schools. On the 2nd of May, Swartz preached to a Christian congregation from Luke xix. 10—"The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." And on the 10th, from John xvi. 5, on the Holy Spirit, and the grounds on which we may now hope to become partakers of that inestimable gift. On the 5th, he visited the hospital with the physician, and addressed both the sick and those in health, from the words of St. John i. 29, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." The next day he set out for Colombo to request permission of the governor to administer the holy sacrament at Jaffnapatnam. This tedious journey occupied twelve days, and he arrived at Colombo on the 18th, just as divine service was commenc-

CHAP. IV. 1760.

ing. In the afternoon he was introduced to the Governor Schreuder, who inquired into the design of his visit, and then very kindly giving him his advice how best to proceed, opened a field of usefulness far more extensive than he had anticipated. The day following he devoted to a visit to the Dutch clergymen, conversing with them on the state of the mission, and the exertions of the Dutch, in behalf of the heathen, in the island of Ceylon. On the 20th he dined with the governor, to whom he related the most important occurrences at the several missionary stations, and the active operations which were in progress, both among Christians and heathen. From the 21st to the 26th he was engaged in preparing those who intended to receive the holy sacrament; but about this time he appears to have been interrupted in the midst of his pious labours by an illness which continued during a whole month, the beneficial effect of which, upon his own mind, he afterwards thankfully acknowledges.

On recovering from this indisposition, on the 17th of July, the anniversary of his arrival in India, ten years before, Swartz preached a sermon preparatory to the holy communion, on Matthew iii. 2, in which he dwelt much on the nature of the motives to true repentance. The next day, after a discourse on 1 Cor. xi. 28, in which he expatiated on the happy effects of worthily ap-

proaching the table of the Lord, the bread and cup of blessing were received by four hundred persons, many of whom afterwards acknowledged the powerful impression produced on their minds by their participation in that sacred ordinance. CHAP. IV. — 1760.

On the following day Mr. Swartz received an invitation to preach the word of God to the Christians at Point de Galle, to which place he proceeded on the 22nd, and arrived on the 24th. Several members of the congregations met him on the road with tears of joy. On the 26th he commenced preparatory instructions for the holy sacrament, which he continued till the 30th, when he preached on Luke xv. explaining the nature of true conversion; and on the next day one hundred and twenty-six persons were admitted to the holy communion, after he had exhorted them, in many private conversations, to choose that narrow way which leadeth unto life eternal.

On the 1st of August he left Point de Galle for Colombo, where he again arrived on the 4th, after having administered the sacrament at Caleture. The road to the latter place, planted on both sides with cocoa trees, he described as particularly pleasant. Having now spent more than three months in Ceylon, Swartz commenced his return to Tranquebar. He embarked on board a Moorish vessel, much enjoying the fine view of Colombo

CHAP. IV. 1760.

from the sea, and commending its inhabitants to the divine mercy. Towards evening, having lost sight of land, the Mahomedan seamen requested him to relate to them the history of Christ, with which he gladly complied, calling their attention to the difference between the Christian and Mahomedan religion. They would not admit that Mahomet was a false prophet, but behaved with great mildness and modesty.

On the 29th of August he arrived at Jaffnapatnam, and after preaching from Matt. xxvi. 26, he administered the holy sacrament to thirty-nine persons. In the afternoon he addressed the sick at the hospital, on Luke xv. 2, "This man receiveth sinners." He visited the hospital again on the following day, and preached in the morning from 1 Cor. xi. 23, when eleven persons received the holy communion. In the afternoon he selected for his text the words of the Psalmist, "Teach me to do thy will." Ps. cxliii. 10,—exhorting his hearers to make this one of their chief prayers to God.

Amongst others with whom he conversed at Jaffna, on religion, a well-informed man, who was of a scientific turn of mind, told him of the distress which his unbelief caused him, mentioning several of the doubts which he entertained on the subject of revelation. Mr. Swartz having dispelled them, concluded his conversation with

CHAP. IV. — 1760.

the following important admonition. "It is very right to endeavour, by sound reasoning and argument, to become convinced of the truth of divine revelation: but this is not sufficient. The chief cause of your unbelief is your own perverse will and inclination. You wish that the word of God may prove untrue for no other reason than this, that you may be allowed to live undisturbed in sin; but I declare to you, it is not enough that your understanding is convinced of the truth—your heart and will must be changed. Turn, therefore, with full purpose of heart, to the living God, and endeavour to obtain grace and pardon, through the blood of the atonement; and watch and pray, and you will find help. You must enter upon this most important business with great zeal, and with a holy importunity." The gentleman to whom this faithful appeal was addressed, appeared to be deeply affected by it; and, as one proof of its efficacy, he immediately sent for a neighbour, with whom he had lived at enmity, and reconciled himself to him.

On the 5th of September, prior to his departure, Mr. Swartz went to Point Pedro for the purpose of seeing the large tree, under which the celebrated Baldæus, who accompanied the Dutch expedition which took possession of Ceylon, in the seventeenth century, addressed his first discourse to the natives. Swartz conversed with

CHAP. IV. — 1760.

some Malabar people whom he met on the spot, and preached the Gospel to them. On his return, he embarked on board his vessel, impressed with gratitude to God for the help which he had experienced in visiting and addressing so many different congregations; and after a short and pleasant voyage, he arrived on the 9th of Sept., in the port of Negapatam, and concluded his journal of his visit to Ceylon in the following modest terms. "With a humble heart I bless the name of the Lord for the grace, help, and protection, he has vouchsafed to me. May he pardon, for Christ's sake, all my sins of omission and commission; and may a lasting blessing rest on all I have done and spoken in my infirmity, agreeably to his word! Amen."

In a letter to his excellent friend Dr. Francke, dated Oct. 16th, 1760, Swartz thus piously refers to his late voyage to Ceylon:

"May I never forget the good I have received at the hands of God; and may the remembrance of his great and unmerited kindness, strengthen me to do his will, and to walk in the way of his commandments! I know, indeed, from experience, that after God has comforted the heart with the assurance of his grace and pardoning love, there will be also found readiness and strength faithfully to discharge our general and relative duties.

May a merciful God glorify Christ in my soul, as my adorable Mediator and Redeemer, that I may taste and see how gracious he is!

"I was much troubled, and even somewhat impeded in the discharge of my duty, by a dry cough in January and February last, which always greatly increased whenever I attempted to remain for any length of time in the open air, during the prevalence of northerly winds; on which account an opportunity of undertaking a voyage to Ceylon was particularly welcome to me. When I reflect how God has condescended to humble and purify me by means of an illness with which I was visited at Colombo, I am constrained to praise him in silence. 'All the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth,' even when it would seem as if he had visited us in anger, and contrary to the assurance which his word contains. I have reason to think that the seed of the word sown at Colombo, has been productive, in some instances, of real and lasting good. The commanding officer at Galle, a member of the reformed Church, appeared much affected, and said to the Lutherans: 'I suppose you would be glad to receive a similar visit once a year.' And on my taking leave, he thanked me most feelingly for the edification he had received, and begged me to come again. The word of God being so scarce in that island, I assure you that the divine service

CHAP. IV. — 1760. was conducted in a very solemn and edifying manner. Indeed my inmost soul was moved by it."

1761. Early in 1761 some circumstances, communicated to Mr. Swartz by Mr. Hutteman, induced him, in conjunction with his friend Mr. Kohlhoff, to undertake a journey northwards to Cuddalore and Madras. Meeting some fishermen on their way, they exhorted them to turn to the living God, through Jesus Christ. One of them replied, "You are not in want, and are therefore not prevented from serving God." The missionaries pointed to the sea, as to an inexhaustible treasury, from which they might every day derive enough to satisfy their own wants, as well as those of many others. In Wanagiri, a Brahmin and some natives that were with him, inquired from whence they came. "We replied," says Mr. Swartz, "from Tranquebar, for the purpose of addressing to you the tidings of salvation." "We have no time," said they, "to hear you, as we are going to the magistrate." Being, however, prevailed upon to listen for a few moments, the missionary told them, that the Lord of heaven called them to enjoy bliss and happiness in another world. "What would you have us to do?" was the reply. "We earnestly exhort you," said Swartz, "to repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus

Christ." They observed, "We do worship God, and he being omnipresent, we may as well worship him under the form of a stone." The missionary replied, that there was no likeness of the living God, either in heaven above or in the earth beneath; and therefore that it was dishonouring him to worship him in the form of any thing corruptible.

Near a river the two travellers met with a Mahomedan chief, and some of his people entered into conversation with them. Mr. Swartz observed, that all men were strangers and pilgrims on the earth, who should desire a better, even a heavenly country, which it was impossible to reach by any works or merits of their own, but only by faith in Jesus Christ. They listened with great attention, and as often as the name of Jesus was mentioned the chief added that of Messiah. On parting, he requested the friendship of the missionaries, and wished them prosperity.

On the 30th of January, Mr. Swartz and his companion arrived at the mission-house in Cuddalore, admiring the goodness of God, by which the town was preserved during the tumults of the late war. Having stayed a day or two and preached there, they pursued their journey; and near Pondicherry a native Roman Catholic, with his wife, joined them, to whom they pointed out the hap-

CHAP. IV. — 1761.

piness to be derived from the pure Gospel of Christ. At Pondicherry they were kindly received by a French inhabitant, who related to them the great distress they had suffered during the late siege of that place. To a young Brahmin whom they met near Mareikanam, carrying a bench on which the idol Ramen is usually placed, and who accompanied them as far as the river Kartiel, Swartz related the history of the creation, and fall of man, and the redemption by Jesus Christ, and testified against the deplorable practice of idol worship.

On the evening of the 6th they reached Sadras, where they were received in a very friendly manner by the Dutch commander of the Fort, and distributed some German tracts among the soldiers; and on the 8th they arrived at Vepery, from which their brethren had been compelled to retreat two years before. They visited the various institutions at this station, conversed with some Mahomedans, and exhorted the native Tamul Christians to walk worthy of the Gospel. On the 10th a conference of the missionary brethren was held, at which the native assistants were present. On the 15th Mr. Swartz preached in Tamul, from Luke xxii. 39—46. He was detained at Vepery till the 10th of March, by a contusion which he had received at Sadras, and which had brought on inflammation; but on the

18th he returned safely to Tranquebar, where he continued during the remainder of the year, actively engaged in the ordinary labours of the mission. CHAP. IV. 1761.

At the commencement of the year 1762, we find him in a letter from Tranquebar to a friend at Halle, giving the following pious and interesting sketch of his religious views and feelings. 1762.

"With respect to my present circumstances, I feel constrained to bless God for the manifold mercies showered down in the past year upon me, the least of his servants, through Christ's atonement and intercession. He has supported me day by day in the most gracious manner; he has instructed and reproved me by his Spirit; he has never left me without consolation—therefore my soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. Indeed I have the greatest cause for gratitude; for the Lord has regarded the low estate of his servant. My joy is not extravagant, but calm and abiding, and my great aim is to know that I am the Lord's, through Christ, that I have found grace in his sight, that his peace rests upon me, that I can confidently approach him in prayer, and have a certain hope of eternal life; so that even days of sickness cannot deprive me of these consolations.

"Many of the Roman Catholics in this place

CHAP. IV.

1762.

acknowledge the superior advantages which the pure Gospel has over the confused doctrines and traditions of men; which, instead of relieving, only oppress the conscience. When I visit them in their houses they listen to me gladly, and I affectionately invite them to convince themselves of the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, made by Christ for the sins of the whole world, as the foundation of their faith; and that believing this, they may enjoy peace of conscience, and become partakers of the precious blessings obtained for them by his sufferings and death upon the cross. I point out to them what Jesus Christ himself has taught respecting the way which leadeth unto life, and how much the Romish Church has deviated from the pure doctrine of the Gospel. Father, let thy kingdom come! O send forth faithful labourers into thy harvest!"

CHAPTER V.

Enlarged sphere of Mr. Swartz's labours—Journey to Tanjore and Trichinopoly—First proceedings in those cities—Introduction to the Nabob of Arcot—Conversations with natives near Trichinopoly—Commencement of Divine Service with the English garrison—Contagious fever—Services of Swartz during the siege of Madura—His removal from Tranquebar, and establishment at Trichinopoly, as a Missionary of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

CHAP. V. — 1762.

VARIOUS and important as the services of Swartz had already been, it must be evident that he possessed talents and acquirements which qualified him for a sphere of more extensive usefulness than the narrow limits of the Danish territory and its immediate neighbourhood afforded. An opportunity for thus enlarging the scene of his labours shortly afterwards occurred.

In the month of May, 1762, accompanied by another missionary,[1] he went on foot to Tanjore

[1] Reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

CHAP. V.

1762.

and Trichinopoly, preaching both to Christians and heathens. At Tanjore he was permitted to explain the doctrines of the Gospel, not only in the city, but even in the rajah's palace, where he took occasion, from questions which the officers of the court asked him concerning worldly affairs, to turn the conversation to religious subjects. The rajah was present, and heard him, but was not visible.

At Trichinopoly, where he remained till July, he was treated with great kindness by the English; and with the assistance of Major Preston and Mr. Newton,[1] a room was built for the purpose of divine worship, and as a school for children. In September, on his return from Tanjore, he baptized several Hindoo converts, and received some Roman Catholics into the congregation, after having previously instructed them in the Protestant faith.

Though Tranquebar continued for some time to be nominally the place of his residence, Trichinopoly and Tanjore began, from this period, to be the chief objects of his attention, as they were ultimately the principal sphere of his missionary labours. The former of these two cities contained, at this period, from twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants, several handsome mosques, and

[1] Brother to the learned Bishop Newton.

a palace and gardens of the nabob, and is celebrated for its stupendous rock of granite, rising within the fort to the height of four hundred and fifty feet, and commanding, from that eminence, an extensive view of the surrounding country. In one direction, the island of Seringham, encircled by the diverging branches of the fertilising Cavery, and conspicuous from its gigantic pyramids and vast and venerated pagoda, forms a rich and magnificent object; while the whole scene is scarcely less memorable as the principal seat of the struggle between the French and English, which has been already adverted to, for the empire of India, and the signal triumphs of British talents and valour. Such was the spot which was about to be rendered doubly interesting by the Christian labours of Swartz.

"On my return to Trichinopoly," he observes in his journal, "early in the year 1763, I found that the powder magazine had blown up. Among other Europeans who lost their lives on this occasion, were three very pious men, by whose society and conversation I had often been refreshed." With reference to this calamitous event he addressed a small congregation of Germans from the admonition of our Lord on the fall of the tower in Siloam, Luke xiii. 4, the number of those who perished having been in each case the same. "This event," he adds, "produced a bene- 1763.

CHAP. V. — 1763.

ficial change in the sentiments and conduct of many of the inhabitants." Mr. Swartz made a collection in behalf of the children of those who had suffered by this melancholy catastrophe, which amounted to three hundred and thirty pagodas. This sum he applied to the establishment of an English orphan school, and the necessary books were obtained from Madras and Calcutta.

In the same journal he mentions, that after preaching from Gal. iii. 23, on the different effects produced by the dispensation of the law and that of the Gospel, he administered the sacrament to thirteen individuals, among whom was a family which some months before had attached itself to his congregation from the Roman Catholic church, the members of which, as they increased in the knowledge of divine truth, exerted themselves in communicating it to others of their acquaintance. During the following month he was engaged in preparing several native converts for baptism, in teaching the children of Europeans to read, and instructing them in the Christian religion. He visited the sick in the hospital, and devoted his evenings to friendly conversation with heathens and Roman Catholics, who frequently collected round him in great numbers, listening with pleasure to his instructions.

While he was one day reading an English tract,

on the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke, under a shady tree, an old Hindoo, who had often entreated him not to trouble him with his Christian tenets, approached him, in company with several others, and begged to know what he was reading. Mr. Swartz told him that it was a narrative of the truly paternal conduct of God towards us, and of our refusal to render due obedience to his kind and gentle government; thus abusing his mercies, and bringing upon ourselves distress and misery. Notwithstanding this, there was, he said, a way opened by which we might return to our justly offended Maker, and become partakers of his grace and benediction. The old man being pleased with this parable, Swartz proceeded to relate to him that of the sower, telling him why the seed did not every where bring forth good fruit. He comprehended this also perfectly, and asked whether God is not omnipresent. "Yes," he replied; "he sees every thing that passes on earth, whether it be good or evil; but his omnipresence is formidable to the wicked." The Hindoo said, "In my heart, inwardly, I worship God." "If that is the case," rejoined Mr. Swartz "your outward conduct must prove the reverence which you profess to entertain in your heart towards the Almighty. What would you think of a man, who reproached and even struck you, while he pretended that he had cordial love

CHAP. V. 1763.

for you in his heart?" The Hindoo confessed that he could not value such love. "Neither," he concluded "can God accept the homage which you profess to feel inwardly for him, while in your words and conduct you deny and dishonour him."

It was during this visit to Trichinopoly, that Mr. Swartz became known to Mahommed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic. He was walking in his highness's garden, when the Mahomedan prince himself happened to enter it, and sitting down near a piece of water, he desired him to approach, and offered him some refreshment, which, however, he declined. A few days afterwards, on seeing him again, the nabob accosted and conversed with him in a very friendly manner. His chief minister always behaved with much kindness to the missionary, and often said, "You have no regard for me; for you seldom come to my house." Mr. Swartz had much conversation with this Mahomedan; but when he found himself closely pressed, and appeared much affected, he always broke off the visit abruptly.

About this time a festival of a Hindoo goddess was celebrated by the natives, in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress, which was accompanied with much noise and many strange ceremonies. The moment Swartz approached, they became silent. He availed himself of this interval to direct their attention to the true God, who

had created and preserved them, and to whom alone those divine honours and that adoration were due, which they were now paying to a woman, who neither had nor could have done the things which they attributed to her. They listened to his admonition, but when he left them, recommenced their idolatrous ceremonies.

On the 4th of May, in this year, Mr. Swartz went to Caroor, twelve miles west from Trichinopoly, for the purpose of instructing some Hindoos of high rank in the Christian religion. "They listened," he observes, "with great attention to all that I told them of the supreme excellence of the true God, and of the redemption of mankind from their fallen state, by his Son Jesus Christ. The next day I assembled a number of the natives under a tree and explained to them the Christian doctrine. They felt how vain and irrational it was to worship their numerous deities, and fully approved the doctrine of one God, the Creator of heaven and earth. I also visited a Brahmin, who was considered the richest inhabitant of the place, who allowed me, without interruption, to expose the folly of idolatry, and then said, 'I also worship God.' We were interrupted by the arrival of a Hindoo who fell on his face before him. The Brahmin took some ashes, which he spread over the poor man. I told him how wrong he acted

CHAP. V. — 1763.

in accepting honours which were due to God alone. Enraged at this reproof, he exclaimed, 'Prove that there is only one God.' This I did by directing his attention to the great works of creation. He dismissed me by saying, 'In the same way that we bow before the body of a man, and yet mean to pay respect to his soul, we bow before images, and intend to worship God'—a plausible excuse which has been urged in favour of idolatry in all ages, but which is at once derogatory from the majesty of the supreme Being, and destructive of all true and acceptable worship.

"Among the Europeans at this place, there were some," says Mr. Swartz, "who were very desirous of instruction; I therefore solicited the commanding officer to allow prayers and a sermon to be read to the soldiers every Sunday. To this he willingly consented, requesting me to make a beginning. I gladly complied, and he publicly repeated his promise, that he would have divine service regularly performed." He was evidently an admirer of fine natural scenery, and observes of that part of the country, and particularly near the river, that it was rich and beautiful, every where well watered, even as the garden of the Lord. The neighbouring hills afforded a delightful prospect, and most of their summits were surmounted by a pagoda.

1763.

On his return to Trichinopoly on the 15th, he met a Roman Catholic monk clothed in a yellow habit, similar to those worn by the Pagan priests, attended by a man who carried his golden fan, as well as by a drummer and fifer. He had a long conversation with him on the doctrines of Christianity, to which the Roman Catholic assented, but paid no further regard to his observations.

In the course of this month an infectious fever carried off many people, but Swartz was mercifully preserved. The Hindoos employed idolatrous incantations for the cure of the sick; but he earnestly admonished them to apply for help to that omnipotent Being, who is alone able to deliver, and who designed, he said, by such dispensations, to draw them to himself.

The only notice which occurs of his proceedings during the interval which elapsed from this period to the time of his removal from Tranquebar, is in the Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for the year 1766. In an extract from a letter of Mr. Hutteman it is stated, that Mr. Swartz "had been of infinite service to the English army during the bloody siege of Madura." The event thus referred to, was occasioned by the attempt of the unfortunate Mahomed Issoof to establish his independence in that district.[1] He had been in the Company's 1764.

[1] Mill's India, vol. iii. p. 344.

CHAP. V. 1764.

service as commandant of the English Sepoys at Trichinopoly, and had been vigorously employed, from the relief of Madras to the fall of Pondicherry, in reducing the refractory Polygars, and other local chiefs in the south of the peninsula. Having proposed to become responsible for the revenue of that part of the country, which, not being as yet in a state of tranquillity and order, was in reality unproductive, and failing in the payment of the stipulated sum, the nabob of the Carnatic and the Madras government proceeded to enforce their claims; and for this purpose, in the month of August 1763, a combined army of natives and British troops marched to Madura. Mahomed Issoof endeavoured by negociation, and by the influence of his friends among the English, to ward off the blow; but finding these efforts unavailing, he resolved on hazarding a struggle in his own defence. Brave and enterprizing as he was, his subjugation was by no means easy. He successfully resisted several assaults on the fort, in one of which Major Preston, the commander of the English troops, whom Mahomed had intimately known, and who had assisted Swartz on his first visit to Trichinopoly,[1] unhappily fell in the breach. After honourably restoring the dead body of his former military friend to the British camp, and baffling all the efforts of

[1] See p. 148.

the besieging army till the month of October 1764, Mahomed Issoof was betrayed by one of his own people into the hands of his enemies, and Madura surrendered to the combined forces. 1764.

It was during this destructive siege that Swartz is reported to have been signally useful to the English army. The precise nature of his services is not stated; but judging from his subsequent conduct, it is probable that they were not confined to his pious attendance on the sick and wounded, but extended to some substantial benefits, which his growing influence among the natives might have enabled him to render in facilitating the supplies of the army in a desolated country during a long and protracted contest.

It was in the year 1766, that the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, anxious to extend their influence in India, resolved, in consequence of representations from Tranquebar, on establishing a mission at Trichinopoly. The frequent visits of Swartz to that city, and the favourable manner in which his labours had been received, encouraged the proposal of a settlement there, and, independently of his eminent qualifications for usefulness, evidently pointed him out as the most eligible person to be placed in that important station. Deeply as his brethren at Tranquebar regretted the removal of so able and excellent a colleague, they readily acquiesced in 1766.

CHAP. V. — 1766.

this arrangement, which was also sanctioned by the approbation of the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen. He accordingly quitted Tranquebar, and fixed his residence at Trichinopoly. Towards the close of the same year, the Rev. Christian William Gericke, who had been recommended to the Society by professor Francke, and who afterwards proved so faithful and zealous a fellow-labourer, arrived in India as an associate with Mr. Hutteman at Cuddalore.

An early communication from Swartz to the venerable Society with which he was connected, acknowledges "the goodness of God to the poor Hindoos in directing their hearts to establish a mission at Trichinopoly," and expresses "his particular obligations to them for choosing him as their missionary; the duty of which office he humbly hoped God would enable him to perform, to the honour of his holy name." How fully and delightfully this pious hope was realized, will appear in the sequel of these Memoirs.

CHAPTER VI.

Sketch of Swartz and his early proceedings at Trichinopoly, by the late W. Chambers, Esq.—He builds a church at that place—Prayer at its dedication—Mission-house and schools at Trichinopoly—War between Hyder Ali and the great powers of Southern India—Swartz visits his brethren at Tranquebar—Incidents on his journey—His visits to the sick and wounded at Trichinopoly—Conversations with Hindoos and Mahomedans—Letters to friends in Europe—State of Tanjore at that period—The hope of Swartz as to the diffusion of Christianity—Conclusion of his journal for the year 1768.

CHAP. VI. — 1766.

OF the settlement and early labours of Swartz at Trichinopoly, as well as of his talents, disposition, and character, a most interesting and authentic account is contained in the following extracts from a letter to a friend by the late William Chambers, Esq., brother of Sir Robert Chambers, formerly chief justice of Bengal. Mr. Chambers was not in the service of the East India Company, but engaged in commercial pursuits, first at Madras, and afterwards in Bengal, and was eminently distinguished by his talents and acquire-

CHAP. VI. — 1766.

ments, particularly as an Oriental scholar, as well as for the superior excellence of his moral and religious character. He was for some years a corresponding member of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and took a lively interest in the propagation of Christianity in India, of which his translation of the greater part of the Gospel of St. Matthew into Persian, and the share which he took in the establishment of the mission church at Calcutta, were valuable and important proofs.

The letter from which the following extracts are given, appears to have been written towards the close of Mr. Chambers' life, and to have been intended to comprise a more extensive account of Mr. Swartz's character and labours. It is, unhappily, only a fragment, and was probably interrupted by the premature death, which deprived his family and the extensive circle in which he moved, of this distinguished and excellent person. Short, however, as it is, it will be found highly valuable and interesting, particularly as containing a most graphic description of the person, habits, and manners of Swartz, by one who enjoyed during many years the high privilege of his intimate friendship, and who was well qualified to appreciate the peculiar excellencies of his character. Mr. Chambers' letter, which is in his own hand-writing, without any mention of place or

date, and evidently rough and unfinished, commences as follows;— CHAP. VI. 1766.

"My dear Sir;

"As you wish me to give you some account of Mr. Swartz and his evangelical labours on the coast of Coromandel, I sit down to satisfy you, though with a deep conviction of my own unfitness to do justice to such a subject.

"In the year 1767 I made a journey from Madras to Trichinopoly, where Mr. Swartz then resided, which first introduced me to his acquaintance. I undertook that journey for the purpose of attaining the Malabar (Tamul) and Persian tongues; and as he was a master of the former, and was studying the latter of these languages, I was naturally desirous to contract an intimacy with him during my stay there, which lasted about two years. In that period, however, it must be confessed I had more opportunities of viewing the evidence of his character than the detail of his work; for being myself engrossed at one time by a long series of ill health, and at others by a course of arduous study, it is not to be supposed that I could have such views of his success as a clerical character might have had who had accompanied him in his labours and excursions. I must also add, that as the study of the Malabar tongue was to me a subordinate

CHAP. VI. — 1766.

pursuit, my proficiency in that language was not, during my stay at Trichinopoly, such as might enable me to converse largely with those people, so as to judge of their sincerity in the faith which they professed.

"Having premised thus much to shew the disadvantages under which I write, I proceed to state to you all that my memory presents to me, of what I then learnt and was witness to, and this I shall endeavour to do with plainness and simplicity.

"I had often heard mention of Mr. Swartz before I went thither, as a man of great zeal and piety, and of considerable attainments in the languages of the country; but as these accounts were in general given me by those who viewed the excellence of a religious character through the medium of popular prejudice, my ideas of him were very imperfect; and as I myself had then scarcely any better rule of judging, a preconceived notion of great strictness and austerity had mixed itself with every thing I had heard in his praise. The first sight of him, however, made a complete revolution in my mind as to this point. His garb, indeed, which was pretty well worn, seemed foreign and old-fashioned; but in every other respect his appearance was the reverse of all that could be called forbidding or morose. Figure to yourself a stout well-made man, somewhat

above the middle size, erect in his carriage and address, with a complexion rather dark, though healthy, black curled hair, and a manly engaging countenance expressive of unaffected candour, ingenuousness, and benevolence; and you will have an idea of what Mr. Swartz appeared to be at first sight. During the intimacy which I had afterwards the happiness to contract with him, I learnt the following particulars of his past history."

Here Mr. Chambers briefly details the account which has been already more fully given of the birth and education of Swartz, of his employment as a tutor in the orphan house at Halle, and of his proposal to become a missionary; of the interesting deliberation of his father upon this important subject, his consent to the plan, and the departure of his son to England for the purpose of embarking for the East Indies. Mr. Chambers then proceeds as follows.

"His first residence in India was at the Danish mission at Tranquebar, where he was initiated into the Tamul (improperly called the Malabar) language, which is the vernacular tongue of almost all the countries that are governed by the nabob of Arcot. As this is the language of an ancient, wealthy, and sagacious people, who have cultivated their own learning assiduously, and have abounded in the arts of life from a remote

CHAP. VI. 1766.

antiquity, it is of course of great extent, and its pronunciation is at the same time exceedingly difficult to Europeans. Mr. Swartz deeming it necessary, in order to converse with advantage with these people, to be well acquainted with their system of theology, whatever it was, spent *five years*, after he had attained some proficiency in their language, in reading their mythological books only. Hard and irksome as this task must have been to a devout mind, he has reaped this benefit from it, that he can at any time command the attention of the Malabars by allusions to their favourite books and histories, which he never fails to make subservient to the truth. He also learnt at Tranquebar the Portuguese tongue, particularly that dialect of it which is used by the Portuguese who are natives of India. The missionaries have found great numbers of these, in every place at which they have settled, ready to embrace the Protestant faith, or who having already embraced it, or been brought up in it as servants to Protestant masters, were in need of instruction and of pastors. Willing, therefore, to seek souls wherever they were to be found, they have all voluntarily added the study of Portuguese to that of Malabar, and preach and instruct in that language also.

"Mr. Swartz, however, while engaged in these pursuits at Tranquebar, found his province there

CHAP. VI. — 1766.

somewhat confined, and therefore sought and obtained permission to go and establish an English mission at Trichinopoly, where the Gospel had not hitherto been preached, at least not for a continuance. He was there happy in a correspondence and frequent intercourse with another young missionary named Dame,[1] who was settled at Tanjore, and was as fervent and zealous as himself. The same spirit and the same pursuit soon drew them into the strictest bond of Christian friendship—the sublimest of all earthly affections. Their prayers, their labours, and their souls, were united in the same glorious and never-dying cause, for which they had both resigned all temporal prospects. But Mr. Swartz did not long enjoy this source of comfort; for being called once suddenly to see his friend, he hastened to Tanjore, and found him dead.

"At Trichinopoly he had much to do with very narrow means. His whole income was *ten pagodas per month*, or about 48*l*. per annum; and he had no other fund for making a new establishment. I must here, however, observe, that though, computing at the usual rate of exchange, one hundred and twenty pagodas must be allowed to be equivalent to 48*l*., yet if we estimate it according to the effective value of money in India and in England, it will not be equal to half that sum. I

[1] See page 112.

CHAP. VI. 1766.

mean, that a European may live much better in England on 24*l*. per annum than he could in India for one hundred and twenty pagodas. Let us see, then, how he managed with this income. He obtained of the commanding officer, who perhaps, was ordered to furnish him with quarters, a room in an old Gentoo building which was just large enough to hold his bed and himself, and in which few men could stand upright. With this apartment he was contented. A dish of rice and vegetables dressed after the manner of the natives was what he could always sit cheerfully down to; and a piece of dimity dyed black, and other materials of the same homely sort, sufficed him for an annual supply of clothing. Thus easily provided as to temporalities, his only care was to 'do the work of an evangelist.' He preached to the natives incessantly, both in the town and in the villages around, and was not long without a congregation of converted Hindoos; and among them three or four who were capable of instructing others, whom he therefore entertained as catechists and contrived to maintain out of his little income.

"But these were not his only labours at Trichinopoly. He found there a large English garrison without a chaplain; to these, also, he sought to be of service by every means in his power. The kindness of his heart and the

unaffected simplicity of his manners soon procured him a civil reception among them, and he improved this into an opportunity of gaining a knowledge of the English language, with which he was unacquainted at his first coming. After he had made, however, but a small proficiency in English, he undertook to read the service to the garrison on Sundays, and he at the same time read them sermons from those of our English divines in whose writings he discovered an evangelical spirit. But since he has attained a more perfect acquaintance with our language, he has proceeded to preach extempore, which I am told he still continues, and is enabled to command the utmost attention in his auditory. CHAP. VI. — 1766.

"It is, indeed, astonishing, if we consider the manners of our troops in India, how he has been able to persuade whole garrisons. At first he prevailed upon them to meet in a large apartment in an old Gentoo building; but in time the garrison resolved to subscribe to erect themselves a church; and the money which would have been thought by contractors a very inadequate sum for a public building, was so well husbanded, and the materials and work, in consequence of Mr. Swartz's knowledge of the country and its language, were procured so exceedingly cheap, that a very handsome, lofty, and roomy structure was raised out of it."

CHAP. VI. — 1766.

Here, it is much to be regretted, Mr. Chambers' able and interesting sketch abruptly terminates. Writing, as it is probable, many years after the early period which alone it comprises, during which a constant epistolary correspondence was maintained by these two excellent men, of which considerable extracts will hereafter be given, had he been permitted to complete his intention, a more extensive memoir would nearly have been superseded. Brief, however, as the preceding fragment is, it contains a most faithful and animated outline of Swartz's character and labours, and recognizes those scriptural and sublime principles, and that simple, disinterested, and energetic devotion to the great work in which he had engaged, which so eminently and uniformly distinguished him throughout his long and holy career. The picture which Mr. Chambers has so unaffectedly, yet so powerfully, drawn of his venerated friend at the commencement of his settlement at Trichinopoly, substantially resembles him during every subsequent period of his life. No man ever maintained a more unvarying and consistent course. "Qualis ab incepto processerit,"—may be justly said to describe his entire career; and the portrait so happily sketched in the preceding letter, needs only to be exhibited in detail, and upon a large scale, to present a perfect model of the Christian missionary.

The church which Mr. Chambers mentions as originating in the pious zeal of Swartz and the liberal contributions of the English garrison at Trichinopoly, is said to be capable of holding from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons. Its erection was considerably promoted by the patronage and assistance of Colonel Wood, at that time commandant of the fort, and deservedly held in high estimation for his military talents. With this distinguished officer he lived in habits of intimate acquaintance, and dined frequently at his table; when after conversing with his family about half an hour, with that good sense and cheerfulness which were natural to him, he was accustomed to retire to his own apartment. Both Colonel and Mrs. Wood appear to have derived essential benefit from his ministry; and this formed the foundation of that Christian friendship, of which some interesting proofs will hereafter be afforded.

The following extracts from the admirable prayer which Swartz composed and offered up at the dedication of the church at Trichinopoly, on the 18th of May, 1766, are strikingly indicative of his devout and truly Christian mind.

——"Be merciful unto us, O God, and hear our prayer, that we make before thee in this place. As often as we, from henceforth, shall assemble here, let thy Spirit awaken our hearts to seek thy face

CHAP. VI. — 1766.

sincerely, without hypocrisy. As often as we shall hear thy word, let us do it with an unfeigned intention to obey and keep it without exception. As often as thy sacraments, which are holy means of entering into a covenant of love and obedience, are administered in this house, O be pleased to make them effectual to the salvation of our souls. And, finally, when strangers, who do not know thy name, hear of all the glorious doctrines and methods of worshipping thee, preached in this house; incline, O mercifully incline, their hearts to renounce their abominable idolatry, and to worship thee, O God, in the name of Christ!

"In this manner make this a place where thy name is glorified, thy kingdom sought for, and thy will duly performed.

"Bless all those who have forwarded the building of this house, by kind advices, or charitable contributions. Remember them in mercy, during the days of their life, and particularly at the hour of their death. Let them see, at the day of judgment, that their charity has been serviceable to the benefit of many souls.

"Frustrate all the machinations of the devil against this house; preserve it from all dangerous accidents; and let it long be, what we from hence forth humbly shall call it, CHRIST'S CHURCH.

"Hear these our supplications, O Father of mercies, for the sake of our Mediator, and to the glory of thy name!"

Adjoining the church, thus piously consecrated to the worship of God at Trichinopoly, Swartz built a mission house, consisting of a hall and two rooms, with suitable offices, and subsequently an English and a Tamul school. In completing these useful and charitable works he expended the salary of 100*l.* per annum, which the government of Madras, without any solicitation on his part, had granted him as chaplain to the garrison; after which he expressed his intention, with the approbation of the society in whose service he was engaged, to apply one half of that sum to his own use, and the other to that of his congregation.

CHAP. VI. — 1766.

Important as he felt this station to be, the pressure upon the Danish mission in consequence of the loss of two of the elder brethren, led him to intimate to his former friends in Denmark, his wish to return to Tranquebar. This being communicated by the Royal Mission College at Copenhagen to the Society for promoting Christian knowledge, while they strongly urged his continuance at Trichinopoly, especially as professor Francke had just informed them of two other candidates for the Tranquebar mission, the determination of the question was wisely referred by the society to the discretion of Mr. Swartz himself, who, in due time, happily announced his intention of remaining as their missionary at Trichinopoly.

CHAP. VI.

1767.

The peace which had now subsisted for some years in the south of the Peninsula, was, in 1767, disturbed by the ambitious designs of the celebrated Hyder Ali. This extraordinary man, partly by his boldness and military talents, and partly by stratagem and intrigue, had raised himself from an obscure and private station, to the sovereignty of Mysore, and was evidently aiming at a more extensive dominion. His rapid progress at length alarmed the great powers of Southern India; and an alliance was formed between the Mahrattas, and Nizam Ali, Subahdar of the Deccan, at whose disposal the English agreed to place an auxiliary force, to check the farther advance of the Mysorean chief. The contest was carried on with the fluctuating policy and varying fortunes incident to Indian warfare. During the early part of it, Swartz's friend, Colonel Wood, distinguished himself by successfully repelling Hyder with a small body of troops against a very superior force, at the fort of Mulwaggle, though he was at a subsequent period unable to maintain his ground against that active and enterprising enemy. In the course of the two years during which the war continued, many opportunities were afforded to the pious missionary of exercising his Christian benevolence in attending the sick and wounded from the English camp, near Trichinopoly, some interesting notices of

which occur in the following extracts from his journal for 1768. CHAP. VI. 1768.

Early in that year he left Trichinopoly, on a visit to his brethren at Tranquebar, taking the opportunity, pursuant to his constant custom, of instructing and admonishing the little congregations of Christians, as well as of addressing the unconverted natives, in the different towns and villages through which he passed. Parties of the latter, on a pilgrimage to Parhani, were exhorted to forsake such vain and unprofitable toils; to others, following with apparent indifference, in funeral processions, he pointed out sin as the cause of death, reminded them of their own mortality, and urged them to embrace the true doctrine of life and immortality, through the only Redeemer.

At Ammal-Savadi he describes a noble choultry built by the queen, which comprised beautiful upper apartments, with verandahs, spacious gardens, an avenue and grove, cool during the heat of noon, and a row of houses nearly a mile long, for the residence of a hundred Brahmins, who were daily fed in this splendid establishment, in the midst of which a new pagoda had been erected. Here he announced to the assembled multitude, among whom were a number of young Brahmins, the majesty of the true God, and of the only Mediator between God and men. While

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

CHAP. VI. — 1768.

expounding the parable of the prodigal son, a Brahmin applied it to himself—"O," said the pious missionary, "that they would arise, and go to their Father!"

Towards the evening of the fourth day of his departure from Trichinopoly, he reached Tranquebar, and found all his brethren well. Here he remained ten days, which he spent in preaching to the three congregations, German, Tamul, and Portuguese, in paternal conferences, and in visiting various Christian brethren. On taking an affectionate leave of them, he thus records in his journal his pious aspirations: "O that this place, which has been richly favoured and visited of God with the pure revelation of the blessed Gospel, may become full of light and power, so that the whole country may become enlightened! May God, according to the riches of his grace, bless all who plant and water in this place; and especially may he cause the children in the schools to grow up in his fear and favour, that many of them may be transplanted to the conversion of the country!"

On returning to Trichinopoly he noticed near Kuttalam, a magnificent banian tree, the girth of which measured seventy paces, and the widely spreading branches of which afforded a delicious shade. Here he visited the merchants at their booths, and discoursed to them on God, the su-

CHAP. VI. — 1768.

preme Being, on the fall, the Redeemer of men, and the way of salvation. They replied, "It is so written, but who can live thus? Who is able thus to eradicate his desires? We have it also on the palm leaves, but it is impossible to keep it." To this plausible and common objection, even among professed Christians, Swartz answered by pointing out the source from which strength may be derived.

At Adutura one of the catechists who accompanied him, assembled a little group of Christians. "We sat down," he says, "under a tree. Many heathens, among whom were several Brahmins, listened at the conclusion to what was addressed to the Christians in the catechetical form, relative to the method of salvation, that is," as he invariably and most justly represented it, "by true repentance, faith in the divine Saviour Jesus Christ, and godliness springing from a true faith. Not a single heathen made the least disturbance; they listened in silence. Afterwards I addressed them separately, and exhorted them to receive the saving doctrine of the Gospel."

At Combaconum where, he observes, there are above two hundred pagodas, the people were preparing for the monthly feast before the great temple.[1] His spirit was much moved on beholding

[1] One of the seven great pagodas of Southern India.

CHAP. VI. 1768.

their idolatry, and he earnestly appealed to them on the sin and folly of a superstition by which they could not but acknowledge that they were neither enlightened, strengthened, nor comforted. In this place, he says, "We talked ourselves quite weary with various heathen. When the catechist," Sædtinaicken, "read to them our Lord's warning against 'false prophets,' and said something in explanation, a Brahmin declared before all present, 'It is the lust of the eyes and of pleasure that prevents us from embracing the truth.' Many bore testimony that this was true." Upon this honest, but humiliating confession, Swartz justly observes, "St. Paul enumerates idolatry among 'the works of the flesh,' and corrupt nature does indeed derive support from it in more ways than one. If it were only an error of the *understanding*, the greater number of heathens would already have forsaken it; but being a work of *the flesh*, and Christianity requiring its crucifixion, they stop there. May divine power rescue them from it, through Jesus Christ. !"

At Ayenpottah, where he had many conversations with Mahomedans and heathens, his friend Captain Berg met and accompanied him to Tanjore. Here, he says, "my chief occupation was with our Christians, though I conversed also with Roman Catholics and others. To the Protestant congregations I explained and applied the

meritorious sufferings of Jesus Christ, as recorded in the Gospel of St. Mark, and the unspeakable blessing which we derive from them; stirring ourselves up to true repentance, faith in this Saviour, gratitude and love. Never, O Lord Jesus, may it be effaced from my mind how much it cost thee to redeem me!"

During the month of April Mr. Swartz was much occupied in visiting the sick and wounded, who were sent from the English camp to Trichinopoly. "Here," he observes, "I often found blessed traces of awakening grace. A soldier said that he had been such thirty-two years. I asked him, how long he had served Christ? He wept, and replied, 'Alas! I have not yet entered his service.'"

"An officer," he writes in his journal, "who had previously discovered a great inclination to religion, and had intreated me to instruct him catechetically, just as I would an ignorant heathen, in which we had made a beginning, but were interrupted by the war, was brought in mortally wounded. He expressed a great desire for instruction. I accordingly visited him daily, and explained to him the chief points in practical Christianity. After a few days he appeared to be something better. He could occasionally take the fresh air, and his appetite returned. Under these circumstances, he gradually yielded to in-

CHAP. VI. — 1768.

difference as to religion. He listened, indeed, but not with real earnestness. At length, I said to him, 'I see you are quite indifferent. I fear you are deceiving yourself. Your wound is as mortal now as it was fourteen days ago. When you perceive that you are drawing near to your end, you will be terrified to think that you have been so foolish as to allow worldly men to draw you off from the chief concern.' He replied, 'It is true; they have flattered me with the hope that I should recover; but it is not so. I know that my wound is mortal.' After this, he became more earnest in prayer and meditation on the word of God. Before his death, I visited him, prayed with him, and exhorted him to commit himself in faith into the hands of his merciful Saviour. Speaking was painful to him; yet he said, he hoped to obtain mercy; and thus he departed, amid the exhortations and prayers of those around him."

Another painfully interesting case of a similar nature occurred shortly afterwards. "A young English officer arrived from the camp in a very weak state, having been already an invalid for some time from a rapid consumption. Having known his previous character, at his father's request I visited him daily—often, indeed, twice a day; led him to the knowledge of his sins, and especially to the crucified Saviour, and earnestly

besought him to take thought for the salvation of his immortal soul. He now acknowledged what it is to forsake the fountain of living water, and to be immersed in the lusts of the flesh, by which both body and soul are ruined. He prayed and wept. The wretchedness of many young people here is difficult to be described. Of such, how many are in a short space removed into eternity! They arrive in this country, to make, as it is called, their fortunes, and usually go down to the grave under circumstances sorrowful indeed."

It would be unnecessarily diffuse to detail all the conversations which Mr. Swartz records in his journals, as held by himself and his catechists at Trichinopoly, and in the surrounding villages, particularly as they must often resemble each other. Some of the more remarkable, however, may still prove interesting and useful.

At Ureiur, a village near the fort, where his instructions appear to have been so well received, that he was induced to build a small cottage,[1] thatched with the leaves of the palmyra tree, to which he might occasionally resort, for the purpose of more frequent and unrestrained intercourse

[1] The nabob's son, when afterwards laying out an extensive garden, ordered this cottage to be taken down, promising to build a better in its stead. Whether he fulfilled this engagement does not, however, appear.

CHAP. VI. 1768.

with the natives, Swartz one day inquired of some Brahmins what they believed and taught. "The eldest replied, 'We teach that God is omnipresent, and is to be found in every thing.' 'It is true,' I said; 'God is present every where, and to every one of his creatures; but it does not follow from this, that you are to adore and worship every creature. If you regard the heaven, earth, sun, or moon, as evidences of the power, goodness, and wisdom of God, and as teachers that lead to the Creator, you do well: but if you invoke the creature, you ascribe to it the glory which is due to God alone, and fall into idolatry. Besides, the creature is not a perfect, but only a frail image of the Almighty. Can an idol, which is unable to see, speak, or move, adequately set forth to you the majesty, greatness, wisdom, and goodness of the living God?' They acknowledged that it could not. I next demanded of a Brahmin whether he did not perceive that the world was full of sin, and that we should all be found guilty, and how we might obtain forgiveness? He answered, 'Through the mercy of God.' 'You say right,' I resumed; 'but you know that God is righteous, and punishes the wicked; how then can a just God be gracious to such sinful creatures, so as fully to pardon us, and to make us blessed?' Upon this I explained to them the doctrine of redemption through Jesus Christ, and earnestly exhorted them to embrace it."

"In one of the pagodas," he writes, "at Puttur, resides a learned Pandaram, who is generally friendly, and does not seem entirely to reject instruction. We both seated ourselves on a bank of earth, near a street. This brought together a concourse of inhabitants. The Pandaram said, 'My chief question to you again and again has been this, How shall I arrive at the knowledge of God, whom I cannot see?' I replied, 'It has often been stated to you, that heaven and earth declare the glory of God. Reflect, then, attentively on the creation, and you will soon be convinced, that no other than an almighty, all-wise, and all-gracious Being, produced it. This Creator we ought, then, in justice to reverence and adore; but you render this honour to the creature, and not to the Creator.' 'This,' said he, 'is all good, but it does not satisfy me; this knowledge is not of the kind I seek.' 'Well,' I said, 'do you desire to have a clearer and more perfect knowledge? God has in great goodness afforded it. He has taken compassion on ignorant man, and given freely to him his word, or true law; wherein he has revealed all the doctrines which are necessary to the attainment of everlasting happiness. He has made known to men rebellious, corrupt, and lost, the Saviour of the world, as the restorer of forfeited blessedness, and the way in which that salvation is to be attained. In short, all that can make us

CHAP. VI. — 1768.

holy and happy, is in this word of God made known to mankind. Read and meditate upon it, with prayer to God; so will it become clear to you. Compare it also with your heathen instruction, and the superiority of the divine word will soon be discerned.' 'Still,' said he, 'this is not enough; for even if I read this, I cannot rightly conceive the idea of what God is.' 'Well,' I replied, 'one thing is wanting to you; namely, *experience*. Lay your heathenism aside; follow the word of God in every point; and pray to him for light and power. Then I may assure you that you will say, Now I am like one who could not, from any description, understand the nature of honey; but now I have *tasted* it, and know what honey really is.'"

How anxious this excellent missionary was to cherish in himself and his brethren the principles by which alone they could be animated in their self-denying labours, will appear from the following brief notice in his journal.

"August 2. After finishing the catechising of the children in the forenoon, the two catechists returned, and related to me with whom they had conversed, and what had been the purport of their conversations; and how a young man had avowed his willingness to embrace the Gospel. We then began, for our own edification, to meditate on the

first Epistle of Paul to Timothy. On occasion of the apostolic wish, 'Grace, mercy, and peace,' we called to mind, that a teacher stands in the highest need daily and hourly of this threefold fruit of Christ's reconciliation; and that the believing apprehension of this precious grace is best calculated to strengthen him, to render him joyful and courageous in urging upon others salvation through Christ, as well as in cheerfully suffering for his sake."

On the 7th of August he notices the following instructive incidents. "The nabob's second son, who is a genuine disciple of Mahomed, that is, inclined to cruelty, watches narrowly the lives of Europeans; and if he remarks any thing wrong, he generally gives it a malicious construction, as if the Mahomedan doctrine rendered people better than the Christian. This young man, observing some Europeans, entered into conversation with them. I was the interpreter. 'It seems remarkable,' said he, 'to me, that Christians are so inclined to card playing, dancing, and similar amusements, which are contrary to the true law.' One of them answered, 'We think it no sin, but an innocent pastime.' 'Indeed,' said he, 'it is singular. that you do not consider it sin, to spend your time in such amusements, when even the heathen themselves declare it to be sinful. It is certainly

CHAP. VI. 1768.

wrong to pursue such things, though you are of opinion that there is nothing sinful in them. You,' he continued, addressing one of the party, 'are a cashier; if you do not know the value of money, you inquire and inform yourself on the subject; why, then, do you not examine into *these* things?—the omitting such examination is a sin also. Nay, if you do not know whether it be right or wrong, and yet continue to play, that is still a greater sin. I am sure Padre Swartz would tell you at once that it is sinful, if you would but receive it.' The cashier replied, 'It is better to play a little, than to absorb all one's thoughts on money.' But the young nabob answered him very discreetly on this point, that we are not to justify one sin by another.

"So artful is he, that he will accost and converse with an European during divine service, and afterwards observe, 'If the man had the least reverence for the worship of God, he would not have allowed himself to be interrupted.'

"On the 15th of this month," continues Mr. Swartz, "in the morning I had a conversation with him. He first asked, how God was to be served, and how we should pray to him; and censured us for not washing our hands, and taking off our shoes, before prayer. I answered, that this was merely a bodily, outward act, which was of no value in the sight of God—that his word

requires pure hearts, which abhor all and every sin, and approach him in humility and faith--we could then be assured that our prayer was acceptable to him. One of those present asked, 'From what must the heart be cleansed?' I replied, 'From self-love, from fleshly and worldly lusts; which constitute, according to the first commandment, the real inward nature of idolatry.' The nabob's son said, 'This inward cleansing is very good; but the outward is also necessary, and God is pleased with it, even though the inward cleansing be not perfect.' I replied, 'Not so. You should rather say, that God has pleasure in inward purity, though the hands be not washed immediately before prayer.'"

At the close of another conversation about this time, with some of the poor heathen natives, in which he had been endeavouring to convince them of the sin and folly of their idolatry, and to persuade them to embrace the blessed doctrines of the gospel, he thus expresses the genuine kindness of his heart, and affords a beautiful example of the tender earnestness with which the missionary should address them. "At length I said, as I often do to them, 'Do not suppose that I reprove you out of scorn; no, you are my brethren; we are by creation the children of one common Father. It grieves us Christians, that you have forsaken that almighty gracious Father, and have

CHAP. VI.

1768.

turned to idols who cannot profit you. You know, because you have often heard, that a day of judgment is before us, when we must render up an account. Should you persist in remaining enemies to God, and on that day hear with dismay the sentence of condemnation, I fear you will accuse us Christians of not warning you with sufficient earnestness and fervour. Suffer yourselves, then, to be persuaded, since you see that we want nothing of you, but that you turn with us to God, and be happy.' They all declared that they were convinced of our sincere intentions, and that they would speak further with us."

In October, in a letter to Dr. Francke, after expressing his anxious wish for a second missionary, for the purpose of more extensive usefulness, he writes as follows.

"Though I should much prefer being at Tranquebar, for the enjoyment of the communion of faithful brethren, yet, when I look on our congregations, I feel that my presence is more necessary here. The catechists require daily superintendence and admonition to prevent them from relapsing into indolence and disorder. The heathen, too, though courteous to Europeans, are apt to behave unkindly to the poor catechists; so that they need countenance and encouragement.